1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect.

GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the repositories of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago has been continued down to date.

From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seen not to have evolved any great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root, origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*maile fihi*)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his fathers.

PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient ship names.

Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer. The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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daring fellow, who often ventured by night and early in the morning close up to the *colo* of Neafoo to kill any stragglers they could meet with. One morning a party of Finow's men, twelve or fourteen in number, among whom was Mr. Mariner, being out on a little excursion, surprised four of the enemy, who were busily employed digging *ma** in a pit: these they immediately laid hold of, and dragged out, to take them home prisoners. Imagining they had got Moteitá and his followers who had so often committed depredations upon them, they resolved to make a signal example of their prisoners. A young chief, however, objected to this measure, and proposed that it would be better to decapitate them at once, and take their heads home. This plan was immediately assented to, but some one observing that they had no knives with them, another casting his eyes upon the ground, remarked, there was something that would do as well; and taking up a shell from a neighbouring spot, where some persons had been eating large pearl oysters, he proposed to proceed to work with oyster-shells as substitutes for knives: this was immediately approved of, and the four unfortunate

* Ma is a species of prepared food, consisting of bread-fruit, or plantains, or bananas; buried for a considerable time under ground, in order to ferment.

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669 victims were taken in hand. It was in vain
727 that they begged their lives, protesting that
[412] they were not the persons they had taken them
[237] for: in vain did Mr. Mariner point out the cruelty of the act, urging them at least to kill them first speedily, and cut off their heads afterwards: to this remonstrance they answered that their prisoners deserved to be severely punished for the many atrocities they had committed; and as to killing them first, and cutting off their heads afterwards, they thought it unnecessary trouble. This horrible piece of cruelty was accordingly committed on the spot. They began the operation, (after having stripped themselves, to prevent their garments from getting bloody,) by haggling at the back of the neck; they then cut gradually round the throat, till they had got through every thing but the spine, which they divided by turning the head down, and giving it a violent twist. This being done, they washed themselves, resumed their *gnatoos*, and proceeded with the four heads to the gar-
669 rison. It was still early when they arrived, and
727 they found the king sitting with his friends on
634 the *malái* drinking cava. The four heads were brought to him by different men, and placed in the middle of the circle upright with their faces towards Finow, who returned his thanks (as customary) to those who had killed them. Mr.

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687 part which this gentleman was appointed to
727 act in the business, two or three no doubt
669 would have been killed, and several wounded,
in the attempt. It must be mentioned that
[794] Cacahoo, owing to his diseased appearance,
was not present at the cava party after the *fono*
(indeed, he was seldom present on any public
occasion, except to fight:) it was resolved,
therefore, that a young warrior, in company
with Mr. Mariner and others, should go and
present him with cava at his residence, as soon
[411] as the above chiefs were seized. Mr. Mariner
609 was to sit next to him, and was to ask him for
his spear, as if to look at it from curiosity; for
[237] this spear was a remarkably good one, headed
with the bones of the tail of the *fy*, (sting-ray,)
and which he always carried about with him:
Mr. Mariner could take this liberty better than
any one else, as he was more or less acquainted
with him; and being a foreigner, his curiosity
would appear more plausible, and less subject
to suspicion: having got it into his hands, he
was to throw it away, and this was to be the
signal for the seizure. Before Cacahoo had
time to hear of what was going forward at Ma-
cave, the appointed party arrived at his house,
and presented him cava. * Mr. Mariner took

[634] * Mr. Mariner was not, in many instances, a voluntary supporter of Finow's conduct: but as necessity has no law,

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hopes that he should be able to fulfil a promise he had made to Toobó mo Laképa the Prince's favourite wife (whose situation required a few indulgences) to bring her some of this sort of fish. The spot was just upon the perpendicular declivity of a shelf of rocks. Having come up to take breath with the intention of going down a second time, he saw with terror the dorsal fin of a shark gliding swiftly along the surface of the water directly towards him; he instantly clambered upon the reef and sprung on one side; in a moment after the deadly enemy, coming with impetuosity, rushed upon the shelf (in a foot and a half water) within a yard of him, and had some difficulty to get off again. As soon as he had recovered from his consternation, for at first he scarcely knew where he was, he quickly got off the reef, making very strong resolutions to avoid for the future a personal search after cray-fish in such situations.

About a month after this a canoe came from one of the neighbouring small islands, bringing intelligence that a large dead spermaceti whale had drifted on a reef, off Vavaoo. Immediately all the chiefs ordered their canoes to be launched, that they might witness this unusual sight; and Mr. Mariner went along with them. They found the whale in a very bad state, half

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decayed, and sending forth no very agreeable odour: this however was a circumstance they did not much regard, their object being the teeth, of the substance of which they make a kind of necklace, by cutting it into smaller pieces, each preserving the shape of a whale's tooth, from an inch to four inches long, having a hole in the broadest part, through which they are closely strung, and put round the neck; the largest being in front, and the others decreasing in size on each side, up to the back of the neck; so that, when drawn close, their pointed extremities spread out, and form a very agreeable ornament upon their brown skins, and is much prized by them, on account of its scarcity as well as beauty. This has given rise to the accounts which voyagers have given that they wear teeth round their necks, whereas they are only forms of teeth cut out of the tooth of the whale; and it is astonishing with what neatness they do this, making as little waste as would be possible to do with much better instruments than what they possess; which is nothing, in general, but a common shaped European chisel, or a piece of a saw, or in defect of these, a flattened nail rendered sharp: before they procured iron from European ships, they made use of a sharp stone. This kind of ivory they also use to inlay their

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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clubs with, as well as their wooden pillows (see p. 127:) the high price set upon these ornaments will be exemplified in the following account, which Finow, on this occasion, gave to Mr. Mariner.

A short time after the revolt at Tonga, when Finow first became sovereign of Hapai and Vavaoo, news was brought him of a large dead whale being drifted on a reef, off a small island, inhabited only by one man and his wife; who had the cultivation of a small plantation there. Finow immediately sailed for this place, and finding the teeth taken from the whale, questioned the man about them, who thereupon went to his house, and taking down a basket from the roof presented it to him, but in it were only two teeth. The man protested that he put them all there, and knew nothing more about them; and taxing his wife with having concealed them, she acknowledged that she had secreted one, and brought it to him, from a place in which no others were found; but this she assured him was all she had taken. The man defended his innocence on the plea that the teeth would be of no use to him; for being poor, he could not sell them for any thing else, since every chief who could afford to give their value would question his right to them, and take them from him: and, for the

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same reason, he could not wear them. Finow was not satisfied with this plea, and being unable to make them confess by fair means, he threatened them both with death: the man still protesting his innocence, Finow ordered him to be immediately dispatched with a club; which being done, he again threatened the woman, and she as strongly protested her innocence: but when the club which had just ended the life of her husband was raised over her own head, she acknowledged that she had concealed another tooth, and accordingly brought it from a different place; and being unable or unwilling to produce any more, she shared the same fate. Finow's conduct here seems very cruel; but however, we are to place a great deal to the account of the state of society in which he lived; and at the same time, we must consider that robbery is punished with death in other countries, as well as in Tonga. But what is most worthy of reflection is the strong hold which that ridiculous passion avarice takes of the human mind, which sometimes disposes a man to suffer death rather than part with what he cannot or will not ever make use of. Both the man and woman, in all probability, were guilty; the woman certainly was; and yet she could bear to see her husband sacrificed before her face rather than confess all she knew of the

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685 matter, and entreat mercy for him at least, if
237 not for herself. The remainder of these teeth
634 were discovered a long time afterwards, by the
422 particular intervention (as the natives will have
565 it) of the gods. A few years had elapsed, when
there being occasion to build and consecrate a
346 house to some god, on the island of Lefooga,
237 it was taken into consideration what valuable
article should be deposited beneath its foundation, according to the custom on such occa-
346 sions. They were about to get ready a large
237 bale of gnatoo for this purpose, when the in-
793 spired priest of the god declared it to be the
787 wish of the divinity to have some whale's teeth; and that there were several buried together on the small island just spoken of, in such a particular spot: which place being referred to and dug up, the teeth were found in a perfect state. This discovery was most firmly and most piously believed to have been made by the sacred interposition of the god himself, who inspired his favourite priest with the requisite knowledge to make it.

In the Fiji islands, whales' teeth are held, if
171 possible, in still greater estimation, for it would
237 be dangerous there for a man, unless he be a great chief, and even then, if he were a foreigner, to be known to have a whale's tooth about him; the personal possession of such a

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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valuable property would endanger his life: the axe, or the club, on some unlucky occasion, would deprive him of it for ever, and of his life too.

The whale of which we have been speaking as just found was, for the most part, in a very corrupted state; there were, however, some places where it was not quite so bad; and as whale's flesh was rather a novelty, (and as novelty is often a provocative of appetite) the lower orders managed to make a meal of it.

About this time a ship arrived off the north-west coast of Vavaoo. She proved to be the Hope, Captain Chase, of New York. When Mr. Mariner heard the agreeable intelligence of her arrival, he was with Finow at the small island of Ofoo, on the eastern coast of Vavaoo. He immediately asked the king leave to go on board, who very readily and very kindly gave his permission. Several matabooles were with him, one of whom whispered something to the king, which Mr. Mariner imagining to be prejudicial to himself, endeavoured to distract Finow's attention by repeatedly thanking him for his liberal conduct towards him, and expressing the grateful sense he entertained of his long continued friendship and protection; assuring him that he had no other wish to leave the islands but what was prompted by the natural desire

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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amputating a portion of the præputium, according to the Jewish rite.

The operation of the *ta tattow*, or puncturing the skin, and marking it with certain configurations, though it is not properly surgical, yet we mention it here, as it is very apt to produce enlargements of the inguinal and axillary glands. The instrument used for the purpose of this operation somewhat resembles a small tooth comb: they have several kinds, of different degrees of breadth, from six up to fifty or sixty teeth: they are made of the bone of the wing of the wild duck. Being dipped in a mixture of soot and water, the outline of the *tattów* is first marked off before the operator begins to puncture, which he afterwards does by striking in the points of the instrument with a small stick cut out of a green branch of the cocoa-nut tree: when the skin begins to bleed, which it quickly does, the operator occasionally washes off the blood with cold water, and repeatedly goes over the same places: as this is a very painful process, but a small portion of it is done at once, giving the patient (who may justly be so called) intervals of three or four days rest, so that it is frequently two months before it is completely finished. The parts tattowed are from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus: there are certain patterns or forms of

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Formerly the whole of the clubs used to be engraved, but now this ornamental work is confined to the handle: it is executed with a great deal of neatness. A shark's tooth used to be the instrument, but now they make a sort of graver out of a nail flattened, sharpened, and fixed in a handle. Instances of their neatness in this sort of workmanship may be seen in our museums, and in the engraved representations of other works.

FY CAVA, shaving the beard. They have two modes of performing this operation, viz. with the two valves of a certain kind of shell, which they call *bi'bi*, and with pumice-stone: the latter is used by the party himself who requires the operation; the former by those whose profession it is to shave others. The edge of one valve being pressed horizontally against the chin or lip by the left hand, that portion of the beard which appears upon it is rubbed or filed off by the rough back of the other valve. This operation is generally performed once in about eight or ten days. The heads of infants are always kept closely shaved; but this is done with a shark's tooth by the mother.

FE OOMOO, the art of cooking. If refinement in cookery be one proof of the civilization of a people, the natives of the South Seas have

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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463 462 Thus far with those arts that are strictly professional, and are practised by men; there are some others not professional, which are also exercised by men, viz. surgical operations, erecting fortifications, rope-making, and making bows and arrows, clubs and spears: the first has been treated of in Chap. 21, and for the second, see Vol. I. p. 90.

283 ROPE-MAKING. There are two kinds of rope, one made of the husk of the cocoa-nut, which is the superior sort, and the other of the inner bark of the *fow*. Although these ropes are made entirely by hand, yet even those of considerable circumference are laid with the greatest regularity: they are very elastic, and the strength of them is universally known. The husk of the cocoa-nut is first made into plait, which is then twisted into strands, and of these the rope is made. The bark of the *fow* is not first made into plait, but at once into strands.

719 [283] [237] BOWS AND ARROWS. The bows are generally made of the wood of the mangrove, though some few of the casuarina wood: the string is made of the inner bark of a tree they call *olongá*, and is exceedingly strong. The arrows are made of reed, headed with casuarina wood: some of these heads have three or four rows of barbs, and, to make them more formidable, are

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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tipped with the bone of the sting ray. (See Vol. I. p. 278.)

CLUBS AND SPEARS. Though the making of these be not a distinct profession, yet they are most commonly manufactured by the *toofoonga fo vaca*, as being expert in the use of the *togi*. Their clubs are of various shapes; but specimens of them, as well as of their spears, may be seen in our museums.

The next arts to be spoken of are those practised by females, not so much as a task or labour, for women of rank often employ themselves this way, but as being their proper occupation. The most important of these is the

FABRICATION OF GNATOO. This substance is somewhat similar to cotton, but not woven, being rather of the texture of paper: it is prepared from the inner bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree, and is used for dress and other purposes.

A circular incision being made round the tree near the root, with a shell deep enough to penetrate the bark, the tree is broken off at that part, which its slenderness readily admits of: when a number of them are thus laid on the ground, they are left in the sun a couple of days to become partially dry, so that the inner and outer bark may be stripped off together,

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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have been transplanted, in order to give them a finer and softer texture.

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the *fow* or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes to keep out the wet, as the water does not damage them: they appear as if they were made of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed that it must have been procured from some horses that Cook had left there.

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole length of the house.

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the *fa*; they are very strong and light.

Tacapow, mats for flooring houses, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Tattów, a sort of matting, plaited in a very ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut leaves: they are used to screen the sides of houses from the weather.

Cato, baskets: these are of various constructions; sometimes of a sort of matting made with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.; at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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of the nut, and have rather the appearance of wicker-work: the latter are sometimes variously stained and ornamented with beads or shells worked in. The larger and coarser baskets are generally made by men, to hold axes and other tools in: also the baskets used to hold victuals, made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, are generally made by men.

Bawlá, mats for thatching houses, are either made by men or women, but more frequently by the former.

Most of these mats, baskets, &c. are made by women of some rank as an amusing as well as profitable occupation, exchanging them afterwards for other things: (See p. 95 of this volume). Making of combs, the teeth of which consist of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, is also an employment of women of rank. Making thread is an occupation of females of the lower order: it is performed by twisting the separate parts of the thread, in the act of rolling them with the palm of the hand along the thigh, and by a return of the hand, twisting them together the contrary way. The material of the thread is the prepared bark of the *olongá*. Needles are generally made by carpenters out of human thigh bones, which are procured from their enemies slain in battle: the only use they have for them is to make sails.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 173 644

e au, teke iloi eku kole tuula lupe, he naake fakalavelavei e koe, a hoku kaingani, kae teke iloi foki e koe, eku kole: Ko eku lau fefine aaku." Pea tali mai e Fasiapule: "Fakamolemole, e Lafaipana, tonuhia koe a eku toe iloi, a hoo lau. He oku ikai ke toutangata, ka ke tatali kau folau ki Tonga, ke omai kao fakamafana." Pea tala ange e Lafaipana: "Oua, he kuo mou fuoloa, naa houhau ae Tui Tonga. Ka tau alu a, o keli a Sangone." Pea nau alu hake o keli, pea ha hake ae uno, pea mate leva a Lafaipana, pea fakakoloa, o fai i he luo o Sangone.

with. I thought you would understand my request for a perch for my pigeon, because you tried your riddles on my friends here; therefore I thought that you would know my request: I was talking about a woman." And Fasiapule replied: "Pardon, O Lafaipana, you are right, I now understand what you meant. We are not of one generation, but wait till I sail to Tonga, to bring you something to keep you warm." And Lafaipana said, "Don't, because you have been away a long time, and the Tui Tonga might be angry. But we will go, and dig up Sangone." And so they went and dug, and the tortoise shell came in sight and Lafaipana died at once, and was buried with fine mats in Sangone's grave.

539 173 643 237 [644]

Pea folau mai a Fasiapule moe uno, o ange kia Tuitatui, o tuku ai koe tevolo, pea tuku fakaholo mai, o ngata ia Laufilitonga. Pea lotu a Laufilitonga, pea ne fakatau ki he vaka papalangi, pea alu ae vaka koia, o fakataui i Fisi. Pea fanongo ai ae Tui, ko Maeakafa, pea alu o eke i Fisi a Sangone, pea ne ilo, ae konga uno lahi o Sangone, pea ne omai o tuku ia te ia, pea oku kei tuku.

And Fasiapule returned and brought the tortoise shell, and gave it to Tuitatui, and it was used as a god, and it was handed down to Laufilitonga. And when Laufilitonga became a Christian, he sold it to a European vessel, and that vessel went and sold it in Fiji. And the King, Maeakafa (George I. Tupou), heard about it, and so he inquired in Fiji about Sangone, and he found some of the tortoise shell and brought it and kept it himself. And it is still in existence.[42]

TUITATUI, LEKAPAI AND SANGONE[43]

539

(A Variant)

It is said that there was a man named Lekapai and his famliy. After living together for some time, he said that they would remove to Samoa. They settled in Samoa and planted breadfruit, plantains, and yams. Suddenly a great storm arose and destroyed the plantation. Following the destruction Lekapai said: "Let us seek the wind and have a tussle with it."

So they set out in search of the wind. After Samoa was out of sight a little island appeared, but there was no opening through the reef which surrounded it. When close to shore a big wave upset the boat. Lekapai, however, made a bound and clung to a big *hingano* tree from which he could look down. After a while he got ashore and found a small trail leading inland.

Lekapai went along this trail until he saw a beautiful girl standing beside her house. She inquired of him: "Whence come you that you enter

[42] The Tongan Prince Consort Tungi possesses a fish hook reputed to be a portion of Sangone's shell.

[43] Told by Utuvai, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 009 Tonga 009

11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamango* (p. 130).

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there is a covert allusion to love.

13. The form of the phrase *tuma 'ae fuifui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of *puleoto* recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over.

14. The *motelolo* is a tree.

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fasi* apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langiehetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault.

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otu fonua*) was an omen of the King's death.

3. In the original Tongan text *mata 'o peka* is written as three words and would thus mean face (front) of *peka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known.

4. Malamaisaua (indistinctly written, and possibly Malamaisana, but Malamaisaua suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the King himself.

5. *'Otua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned.

6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.

7. Alaivahamamao, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.

9. Manono and Fualu are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that Manono is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of Manono and Fualu is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of Manono and Fualu, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *evalu*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king of Pulotu, for Hikuleo is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutuumau (Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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239. Unga toho ngeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell. 539 825 461

The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is used of one who is slow in his work or movements.

240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway *will be scraped.* 539 252 226 [136] [521]

This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal.

241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell. 539 735 571 167 237

Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying "put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.)

242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire. 539 252 [857]

The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab.

243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and *kahi.* 539 825 571

The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, but the *kahi* devours the *pipi.* It is like the companionship of a simpleton with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.)

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber crab buries himself. 539 825

The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kaloaa ka koe vaka: The *kaloaa* is in the right but it is the boat. 539 825 183 [36]

The *kaloaa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

231 574 527 special kin, church-thanksgivings, and the like. It is well to be prepared for these possible functions with pigs on hand. Otherwise the pigs will have to be bought from whomsoever can be persuaded to sell. The price is likely to be high. Biukala, to take a typical case, has now five pigs, three sows and two boars. During 1938 he killed ten pigs: six for his [554] son's first birthday (he also purchased an additional large [565] pig for this feast, thus signalising with a memorable feast the prestige of his high status among the other commoner families of this village), two for Christmas celebrations, and two sucklings which he sold when temporarily short of ready [262] cash. No feast can claim to be a feast without the service of pork. Hence the premium on the keeping of pigs.

231 492 Most village households also own at least one horse. This is most useful for visiting distant villages, for riding (bareback) to and from the plantation, and more particularly for use as a pack animal in bringing back heavy loads of food and firewood to the village from the plantations.

231 [235] [262] [432] Many households possess a few chickens which are used as an occasional food relish and for feasts. The eggs, if any, may be sold for a pittance to the trading station, the manager of which takes them in turn to Neiafu where they are sold from the big stores to the European residents. Two families have several goats, useful for feast-occasions. The village overseer owns two cows and a bull. At rare intervals he sells a cow or a calf to a butcher in Neiafu. He slaughtered [272] [237] one cow himself for the birthday-feast of his son. Neither milk nor manure are used. The animals have mostly prestige value.

Pigs are nominally supposed to be kept inside enclosures in the village. They usually wander round the village, unhindered, unhampered, and occasionally venture into the bush where they often play havoc with the gardens. They are usually fed on mature coconuts, specially if fattening is necessary for a forthcoming feast. Otherwise they root up the free village lands hunting for roots and wallowing in the consequent mud baths during the rainy season. Goats, cows, and horses are kept tethered in the plantations where they find enough green foods to keep them in good condition. [857] Chickens are semi-wild, roosting in the trees and only to be

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell (*bulo*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga, but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or *vesi*, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the Faleia, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured, are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

Finau-tan-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples dedicated to shark deities. 237 778

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-langa-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were made for good seasons and big hauls of fish. 776 [823] [782]

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-langa-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history. 779

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought. [776] [782]

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sunrising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably the site of a house sacred to her. 776 [821] 133 776 [822] [824] [778]

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these. 776 171

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

doubt the strong saline constituents of the lake act, upon the substance of the fish, so as to prevent rapid decomposition. Singular to say, however, this is not indicated by anything peculiar in the taste. Indeed, the *ava* is greatly esteemed for its dainty and luscious qualities. The fish attains a length of two and a half feet, when full grown. It seems to belong to the salmon family; but its flesh is white, and the skeleton of the fish displays an infinite number of fine cartilaginous bones ramifying its entire fleshy substance.

Numerous and perfect specimens of the shell of the *Tridacna gigas* are also found, around the borders of the Nomuka lake, *buried in the soil of its banks.* No living specimens of this mollusk are obtained from the lake itself, nor are they found, so far as we know, in the adjoining sea. One shell, which we dug out of the loose clay and gravel composing the banks of the lake, measured a little over three feet in length, by nearly sixteen inches in width. Although the species is said to have been met with by the French naturalist accompanying the "Astrolabe," as stated in the published zoology of that exploring expedition, yet it is probable that the shell, obtained in Tonga, was only one of those from Nomuka. At all events, the living mollusk was never met with by us, during a ten years' residence, although there are several varieties of *chama*, of large size, very common amongst the different islands.

There is a fair variety of both salt-water and land shells, but none perhaps that are peculiar or confined to Tonga. Several sorts are much used by the natives in ornamenting canoes and houses, as well as in decorating their persons. The chief of these are, the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

white cowry, *Ovulum ovum*, and a smaller one of the same family, the *Ovulum verrucosum* of conchologists. The former is employed in decorating the prows of canoes, and also the projecting ends of the outer ridge-pole of houses. The latter are strung into armlets or necklaces. All the other representatives of the cowry family, though numerous, are also found in abundance, but are not devoted to any useful purposes.

There are several extensive beds of the pearl oyster; but these have never been cultivated, nor has any pearl fishery been established. The natives do not obtain the oyster for the sake of the pearls; but merely as an edible. These, however, are frequently met with, and are usually of good quality and lustre. We have ourselves taken as many as seventeen pearls, three of which were of moderate size, out of one small oyster. There is no doubt but that, with proper attention, these pearl oyster beds would prove a valuable source of revenue to the people. The largest of the shells are cut up, and ingeniously fashioned into a great variety of native fishing-hooks; while in other cases the shell is highly polished, and worn as a breastplate.

The trumpet shell, (*Triton variegatus*,) is, as the name indicates, made by the natives into horns or trumpets. These are used chiefly in canoes, when voyaging, to give warning of their departure or arrival. The only preparation of the shell consists in drilling a small hole through the spiral end. The sound of a good one may be heard at a distance of several miles. In the event of a sudden squall, driving any small fishing canoes far away from the land, it is usual for the friends of the missing ones to man several canoes, and to start

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

237 534 202 off in different directions, sounding these trumpet-shells, for the warning and guidance of the lost fishermen, should they have survived the storm.

226 262 A goodly variety of the more common edible shell-fish, supplies the natives with one of their principal daily articles of diet. Cockles and whelks are plentiful, in some localities, and are cooked in a variety of ways, so as to be made very palatable even to an epicure.

Crustaceous animals, such as shrimps, prawns, cray-fish, lobsters, and crabs, are abundant in different islands, and they are sought after and esteemed by the natives as articles of food. Several sorts of sea-slugs are also eaten, and among these the *bêche-de-mer* of commerce; but it is only found in small quantities, and of inferior size to those so argely obtained in Fiji. The cuttle-fish, or *feke*, as it is called in Tonguese, so despised by the fishermen on our English coasts, is by them very highly esteemed. Indeed, a dish of *raihu feke*, or cuttle-fish soup, well prepared by a Tonguese cook, would [252] make even a Soyer envious, and would, undoubtedly, call forth a whole chapter of flowery eloquence fully to describe its merits.

A great variety of fish contributes extensively to the daily support of the islanders. Of the larger sorts that are eaten by them, we may name the albicore, bonito, ray, sword-fish, and shark. There is, besides, a good assortment of rock-fish. These 226 different kinds of fish are taken by lines, nets, and spearing, in all of which modes of fishing the people are ingenious and expert. The favourite method, however, with the Tonguese, is that of fishing with nets. In the manufacture of different descriptions of these, they equal any civilized

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 (871) (237)

things will now go on a little more pleasantly. There are eleven schools on this island alone; and what can one Missionary do for so many, even if he had all the necessary school apparatus? Of slates, pencils, maps, &c., we are exceedingly deficient. I have prepared scores of the latter myself, and many of the children use the spines of the sea-urchin, instead of slate pencil.

18th.—Having arranged for a tour to the distant islands of the circuit, we sailed this morning for Tugua. This island is distant from Lifuka about thirty-eight miles, and is under the immediate care of Peter Vi. He visits, from it, as a central spot, all the southern part of the group. Standing on as far as a reef called Kito, we tacked from thence, and reached Tugua one hour after sunset. The visit was unexpected; but our reception was warm and hearty. Tugua will ever be associated in my mind with many pleasing and painful remembrances. It was here I first began my Missionary labours in the native tongue. It was here, also, that my late and beloved Missionary brother, William Webb, resided alone, and far removed from his other brethren, for seven years. It was likewise in the vicinity of this island, where we were both mercifully, and wonderfully, delivered from a watery grave. When I again viewed the spot, where he had laboured so long and so effectively, I felt more than pen can express; what, in fact, only a Missionary can know, who, far from the presence of kindred and friends, has had a well-beloved fellow-Missionary cut down by his side.

Before landing, we were overtaken by a heavy squall of wind and rain; and being also late, we could hold no religious service. Peter thought it

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

ADDITIONAL WOODEN IMAGES FROM TONGA

By Te Rangi Hiroa,
Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

IN a previous paper,[1] describing wooden and whale-ivory images from Tonga, reference was made to two wooden images in the private collection of Mr. W. O. Oldman of London. After the paper appeared, Mr. Oldman sent me photographs and details of the two images mentioned and of a third unique image that had come into his possession after I saw the other two in 1933. Just as this paper was being written, Mr. Oldman sent me a further photograph, of a whale-ivory image that is also in his collection. Mr. Oldman has kindly given me permission to reproduce the four additional images and so make the series of Tongan images up to date for the information of students of Polynesian culture.

Two of the wooden images and the ivory one are in the erect position with pendent arms, but the third wooden image shows a unique departure in being carved in the sitting position. The taller of the erect images is shown in fig. 1.

The resemblance of fig. 1 to the figure in Williams' work[2] is so great that they seem to represent the same image. The presence of the cord around the neck in both figures gives further support, but all doubt as to identity is dispelled by the written inscription on the back which reads as follows: "Goddess of Lifuga hung by Tafahau on embracing Christianity. Hapai, July 1830."

Lifuga (Lifuka) is the principal island in the Haapai group where in 1830 John Williams met Tafaahau who later became George Tubou I of Tonga. It was on that occasion that Tafaahau[3] cut down one of the five goddesses suspended by their necks from the roof of a house and

[1] Te Rangi Hiroa, "Material Representation of Tongan and Samoan Gods"; *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 12, 1935.

[2] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 274 (also *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 10).

[3] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 275.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 76]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
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Carved figures of whale tooth ivory (which was highly valued in Tonga, as in other parts of Polynesia) were characteristic only of the Ha'apai group in Tonga. This ivory figure (actual size 5¼ inches) was probably worn by a chief as a single neck pendant or as part of an assemblage of figures on a necklace, for there is a suspension hole at the back of its neck. (Photo: Courtesy of The Museum of Primitive Art, New York)

Neongo na'e mahu'inga 'i Polinisia kotoa e ngaahi 'imisi na'e tongi mei he nifo'i tofua'a, ko Ha'apai pe 'i Tonga na'e fai ai e fa'ahinga ngaue ni. Ko e 'imisi ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta ni ('inisi 'e 5¼) mahalo na'e 'ai 'aki ha kahoa 'o ha 'eiki 'i ono'aho.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

342 nearby Samoa, was an oval structure with roof
283 thatching made from sugar cane leaves or coconut
284 fronds, and with exquisite sennit lashing on the inside rafters. Tongan clubs were characterized by
411 skillfully-incised, geometric surface patterns, at
531 times by inlaid pieces of pearl shell or whale's tooth,
237 and occasionally by designs depicting animals (zoomorphs) or humans (anthropomorphs); these decorations were sometimes applied over a period of time, certain bits of ornamentation being added in commemoration of a particular battle victory.[A2]
532 Carved statues, which were used to a minor degree as representations of deities, were usually wooden and female, with a rounded, stout body and an oversized head. The few, excellent ivory statue carvings from Ha'apai preserved today in museums are considered to be among the finest creative art pieces in the history of the Pacific.[B3]

[p. 10-A]

A [See category 411, pp. 9A, 10B and 11--Analyst]

B [See category 532, p. 8--Analyst]

538 In addition, Tongan art included oral traditions, for a vital part of the early Tongan educational system was the careful memorization and oral transmission of legends and lineages. In fact, just as important as the techniques and skills that each master craftsman passed on to his successor were the prayers, myths and geneologies which had to be imparted as well.

537 As oratory has long been an art, it is significant to note that Tongans have always been eloquent [726] people. Skilled orators were necessary for inspiring people to perform community projects and, in time of war, for exciting the zeal of warriors[4]—such as the way that the dauntless leader, Finau 'Ulukalala II, roused his soldiers' enthusiasm when he said forcefully in a speech at Vava'u: "Be brave in battle; fear not death. It is better to die fighting in the field than to live to be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering illness."[5]

304 Tattooing became popular for a time in Tonga, [177] most probably as a result of frequent contacts with Samoa (where the highly-perfected art of tattooing [237] is still practiced today). According to Mariner in the early 1800's, Tongan men were elaborately tattooed from waist to knees by use of a small-tooth comb made from the wild duck's wing-bone, which was dipped in a mixture of soot and water and then tapped with a green branch to puncture the skin. The esteem with which tattooing was held was no doubt because of the intense pain which had to be borne in order for the intricate designs to be permanently imprinted on the skin. Mariner remarked: "It is considered very unmanly not to be tattowed, so that there is nobody but what submits to it as soon as he is grown up."[6] Women also, as Captain Cook had observed some years earlier, were tattooed in smaller, less extensive patterns on the [797] arms, hands and fingers. Largely due to the [178] missionaries' strong opposition to it as an evil and unhealthy practice, tattooing died out in Tonga sometime later in the 1800's.

532 The coming of the westerners generally had a 177 detrimental effect upon art in Tonga. Many valuable artifacts were destroyed because they were seen as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14A]

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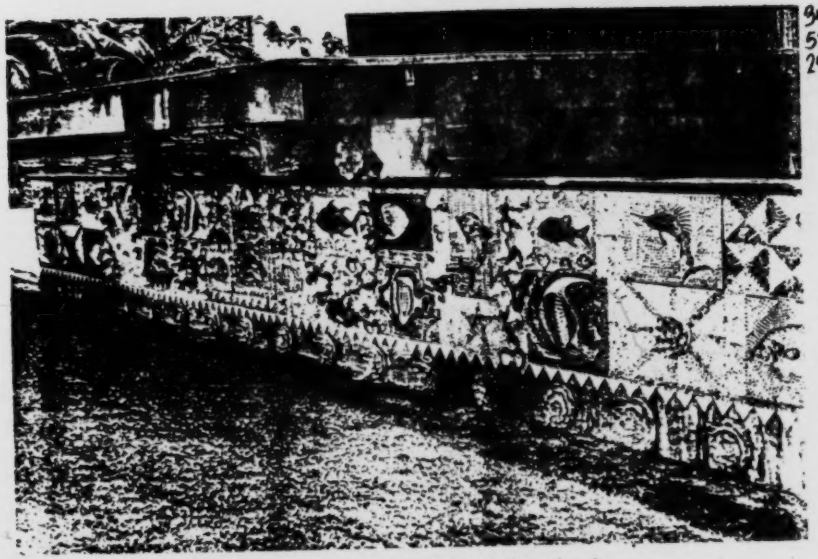
39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 QU9 Tonga QU9



Shells, inlaid in elaborate designs, were sent from all over the Tonga Islands to adorn the exterior wall of *Tufumahina* (above), the home of Princess Pilolevu near Pea, several miles outside of Nuku'alofa. This artistic, unique use of shells is more clearly revealed in the close-up (opposite page, top).

Ko e ngaahi tau nga'esi fingota fska'ofo'ofa mo'oni na'e 'omi mei he feitu'u kehekehe 'o Tonga ke tautau'i 'aki e 'api 'o e ta'ahine ko Piliniesi Pilolevu 'i Tufumahina (ta 'i 'ofunga). 'Oku 'ilonga lelei 'i he ta 'i he tafa'aki 'e taha 'a e fska'ofo'ofa mo masani mo'oni 'a e ngaahi kolosi ni.

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[Caption for this photo is on page 19]

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"Langa Fonua" is the women's handicraft co-operative which has grown over the past decade, with the support of Queen Salote and Queen Mata'aho, into a prominent association. It helps people in villages and islands off the route of cruise ships to organize and send their crafts to the *Langa Fonua* shops in Nuku'alofa (shown here) and Neiafu, Vava'u to be sold to tourists.

'Oku lele lelei 'aupito 'a Langa Fonua he ngaahi 'aho ni. Kuo 'osi mahalo eni ha ta'u e hongofulu hili 'a hono 'ulu aki kamata 'o e kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki ni, pea 'asili foki 'a hono fai malohi e ngaue ni koe'uhi ko hono poupou'i 'e Kuini Salote, pea mo Kuini Mata'aho foki. 'Oku 'i ai foki e falekoloe 'e taha 'o e Langa Fonua 'i Nuku'alofa ('a ia 'oku 'asi 'i he ta) pea taha 'i Neiafu.

[p. 19]

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C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
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Gerstle & Raitt
39:

Pau, the 36th "Tu'i Tonga" (1777), whom the Cook journals describe as a "sedate, sensible man," wearing an elaborate feather headdress called *pala tavake.* Feathers were traditionally considered to be very valuable in Tonga and throughout Polynesia, especially red feathers, as red was a sacred color worn or used only by those of chiefly rank. And in the stratified Tongan society, rank was often indicated by certain body ornaments such as this one.

Ko e ta fakatata eni (1777) 'o Pau, 'a e Tu'i Tonga hono 36. 'Oku 'i hono langi 'a e teuteu fakatu'i ko e pala tavake. Na'e mahu'inga 'i Polinisia kotoa 'a e fulufulu'i manu puna, kae tautautefito ki he fulufulu lanu kulokula, koe'uhi ko e lanu ia na'e ngaue'aki pe 'e hou'eiki mo ha'a tu'i.

[p.28-A]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

SUNDAY 25*th*. In my walk to day I happened to step into a house where a Woman was dressing the eyes of a young child which was blind; the eyes were much inflamed and seemed to be covered with a thin film. The instruments she used were two slender wooden probes, with which she had probed round the eyes so as to make them bleed; she had almost finished the opperation when I went in so that I saw but little of it.[1] In the same house another women was shaving a Childs head with a Sherks tooth stuck into the end of a piece of stick, she first wet the hair before the razor with a rag diped in water; the opperation gave no sort of pain to the Child although the hair was taken off as close as any of our razors would have done it,[2] I tryed one and found it an excellent succedanuem. But the men shave the beard with two shells, one of which they place under a small part of the beard and with the other scrape that part off;[3] in this manner they will shave very close, the opperation is rather long but no ways painfull and there are men who seem to profess it, and it was as common for to see some of our men sit to be shaved by these shavers, as it was for the Chiefs to come aboard to be shaved by our Barbers.[4]

Finding we got little or nothing where we lay,[5] I resolved to change our station and wait Feenoughs return in some other place; accordingly in the fore noon of the 26th we got under sail and Mon. 26 stood to the Southward along the reef of the island, having 14 and 13 fathom water a sandy bottom. We however met with several detatched Shoals, some were descovered by breake[r]s, some by the Water upon them appearing discourlered and others by the lead. At half past two PM having past several of these shoals and seeing more

were said to be at Huahine; and he was to have another one, p. 196 below. '... the man gave such answers & drew the number of the masts upon the sand, as to stagger us & put some confidence in the report, the fellow was very ready to go in our boats to prove the truth of his tale.'—King.

[1] Mariner has an interesting paragraph on Tongan ophthalmia and eye-surgery, II, p. cii: ending, 'Mr Mariner neither saw nor heard of but one man who had lost his sight by disease'.

[2] 'an abeolute falsity [it] will not take it off so [well] as scissors.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 260.

[3] 'this is a better [plan] and they cut their bea[rds] off pretty close.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 261.

[4] 'none of our Sailors could bear it & none more than once try['d how] they liked the meth[od].'—Bligh AL, I, p. 261. Cf. Ellis, I, p. 93, on Tongan feelings in the matter: 'This operation [with shells] however is rather painful and tedious, and observing how expeditious and clean we performed it, they were desirous of trying it also; and it so far exceeded their expectations that scarce a day passed without plenty of customers.'

[5] 'But we have purchased almost all their commodities; they having very few things to dispose of except their young Girls which seems to be almost the only trade at present, & indeed is very advantageous to the men, for they are paid a hatchet for every nights lodging, or a Shirt.—This seems the Common run of trade—but in some instances I have seen two hatchets & a shirt or sheet given for a Nights lodging with a fine young Girl.—The men receive what is agree'd for & leave them on Board, & come for them again the next morning, & if the girls get any thing more they take it away the moment they come.'—Bayly T, 28 May.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

was observed in taking them away and I observed no one spoke to him standing. I stayed till several of his attendants left him, first paying him Obseisance by bowing the head to the sole of his foot, and touching or taping the same with the upper and under sides of the fingers of both hands.[1] Others who were not in the circle came as it seemed on purpose and paid him this mark of respect and then retired without speaking one word. I was quite charmed with the decorum that was observed, I had no where seen the like, no not even amongst more civilized nations.

When I got on board I found the Master returned, he informed me that so far as he had been, there was anchorage and a passage for the Ships, but that towards the South and SE he saw a number of small isles, shoals and breakers. Fore seeing that to go this way would be attended with some risk, I thought it better to return by the same rout as we came and should have sailed the next morning, Wed. 28 had not the wind been too far Southerly and very unsettled withal. Fattafee Polaho the King as I shall now call him came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a person in either Ship that got one but my self Cap[t] Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets[2] worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radis is 18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which M[r] Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them.[3]

The Cheif stayed on board till the evening when he left us but his Brother, whose name was also Fattafee,[4] and one or two more remained on board all night.

[1] The observance called *moemoe*. Cook, on his previous voyage, had seen it paid to Latunipulu.—II, pp. 256–7. The 'bowing the head to the sole of his foot' was a special observance to one's hereditary chief. For any other chief the rest of the ceremony would be the essential part.

[2] The Blue-crowned Lory, *Vini australis*. It appears that most of the Tongan red feathers, however, were not a domestic production but came from Fiji.

[3] See *Voyage*, I, pl. XVIII. This may give a good idea of the bonnet, but it hardly answers to Cook's description of the subject: it shows the head and shoulders of a personable young man, neither the features nor the shoulders being those of a 'most corperate plump fellow'; nor are the features recognizably Tongan—or indeed very Polynesian at all. The bonnets (*fau* or *faufau*) were worn at times of great festival or ceremony.

[4] He is more particularly known as Ma'ulupekotofa. He was Paulaho's older half-brother. Their mothers were both secondary wives to the 35th Tu'i Tonga, whose children

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for by Polaho and soon after Feenough came and acquainted me that young Fattafee, Polaho's son, wanted me. I left Toobough and went with him, And found the Prince and Omai seting under a large Canopy of the finer sort of cloth with a piece of the Coarser sort spread under them, that was 76 yards long and 7¼ broad. On one side was a large old Boar and on the other a heap of Cocoa-nuts; a number of people were seated round the cloth, amongst them Mariwaggy and others of the first rank. I was desired to set down by the Prince and then Omai informed me that he was desired by the King to tell me that as he and I were friends he hoped his son might be joined in that friendship, and that as a token I would except of his present. I very readily agreed to the proposal and as it was now dinner time I invited them all on board to dinner, viz. the young Prince, Mariwaggy, Old Toobough and Feenough; they were accompaned by three or four inferior chiefs and two respectable old Ladies of the first rank. Mariwaggy was dressed in a new peice of cloth, on the skirts of which was fixed six pretty large patches of red feathers: this dress seemed to have been made for this visit, for as soon as he got on board he put it of and presented it to me to whom it was valuable on account of the feathers. I made all my visiters such presents as I had reson to think they were highly pleased with. When dinner came on table not one of my guests would sit down or eat a bit of any thing that was there. Every one was *Tabu*, a word of a very comprehensive meaning but in general signifies forbidden. After dinner, and they had seen all over the Ship, I conducted them a shore, as soon as the boat land[ed] Feenough and some others instantly steped out, young Fattafee was following them but was called back by Marriwaggy, and he Old Toobough and one of the old Ladies paid the young Prince the same obeisance and in the same manner as is paid to the King; this done he was suffered to go and the old people steped into a Canoe that was waiting to carry them to their place of aboad. This Mariwaggy and Old Toobough were Brothers they were both men of great property in the island and seemed to be in high favour with the people; the former was Father to Feenough, & Toobougheitoa and Father in Law to the King, he having married one of his Daughters by whom he had this Son—consequently Mariwaggy was the Prince's grandfather.[1] On my

[1] The relationships as stated here need some modification, owing to the ambiguity of the Tongan words used to explain them. Macaliuaki and 'old Toobough' were full brothers, on the assumption that the latter was Tupou'ila, both sons of Ma'afuotu'itonga, 6th Tu'i Kanokupolu, and the same mother. Macaliuaki was 'classificatory father', *tamai* (cf. p. 125, n. 2 above), to both Finau, son of Tu'itu'iohu, a chief in Vava'u, and Tupouto'a his half-brother. Macaliuaki's daughter Kongakava was Paulaho's wife, but an 'additional

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till it is the length they intend it. The hollowed side of the log of wood is to receive the ends of the unworked cloth, so that they may be out of the way of the work women. They have of this cloth of different degrees of f[i]neness, according to the bark on which it is made; the finest is made of the Chinese paper Mulberry tree.[1] The Courser sort of which they make very large piec[e]s does not receive the impression of any platen, but is made on the log only.[2] Of the finer sort, they have some that is striped, chequered and other patterns of different colours, but how these Colours are laid on I can not say as I never saw any of this sort made.[3] All these sorts will resist water for some time and that which has the strongest glaze will resist it the longest.

The next considerable Manufacture is matting in which they exceed all the places I have been at both in texture and beauty. Many of those which are made of the bark of the Poerou[4] so far exceed those they have at Otaheite, that they are not a bad article to carry their by way of trade. They also excell in making baskets, some are exceedingly neat and they have of them of many different patterns. It is almost needless to say that they make ropes and lines of all sorts, Nets for fishing, fish-hooks and all manner of fishing geer with the greatest facility. But in what I think they most excell in point of workmanship, is in the building their Canoes, for an account of which and the manner of Navigating them I refer to the narrative of my last voyage.[5]

Masonry Masonry I have seen none but in the walls that inclose their Morais and their is nothing extraordinary in them but the size of the Stones, some of which are ten or twelve feet in length, four or five in breadth and one or more in thickness.[6] I examined several of these stones and found them composed of Coral sand and small Marine shells, and therefore concluded that they had been hewn from of the surface of the coral rocks. But even to do this with thier tools is no little work for before they got Iron they had only adze[s] of stone, a chissel of bone; a coral stone and sand and the Skin

[1] *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tahitian Aute, Tongan Hiapo. The dyed cloth thus described is properly called *ngatu*, not *tapa* as in the other islands.

[2] It was made from the bark of the young breadfruit tree, Mei (Tahitian Uru). This plain cloth the Tongans called *tapa*; it was, says Mariner (II, p. 206), 'seldom worn, but is chiefly used for various purposes at funerals'.

[3] With a small stick used as a brush, as is still done.

[4] This was the Tahitian name, Purau, for the common *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. The Tongan name was Fau.

[5] II, pp. 269–3, 447–8.

[6] Cook's misuse of the word 'moral' (*mala'e*) has already been noted. The reader interested in the remarkable structure of *fa'itoka* and *langi* can do no better than refer to the extended account in McKern's *Archaeology of Tonga*, pp. 30 ff.

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333 of a sting-ray fited upon a piece of wood, served as a polisher; for
[412 small work they make use of Sharks teeth and Shells.
[237 *Tillage* The Instruments for *Tillage*, in which they may be said to vie with Europeans, are nothing more than Pickets, or
241 Stakes of different lengths according to the depth they have to dig,
412 they are flaten'd and sharpened to a edge at one end and the largest have a short piece fastened transversely a little above it, for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent.

721 *War and Weapons* The art of War is not unknown to these people though perhaps they practise it as little as any nation upon earth; for except their occasional disputes with Fidge[e], before mentioned, they seem to have no Enimies round them. Their
713 Weapons are clubs of defferent sorts, in the making, or rather Orna-
411 menting of which they spend much time, Spears and darts; they have
531 bows and arrows but they seemed to be designed only for amusement and not as a Military weapon.[1]

642 *Goverment* Of the nature of Goverment we know no more than the general out line, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body
[643 politic I confess my self totally ignorant.[2] Some have told us that the
565 power of the King is unlimited and that the life and property of the
421 Subject is at his disposal; but the few circumstances that fell under our observation, made more against than for a dispotic Goverment though we saw instances of both, and some that clearly shewed that the lower order of people have no property but at the will of their
643 masters.[3] On the other hand *Marriwaggy*, Old *Toobough* and *Feenough*,
634 acted each like petty Sovereigns and frequently thwarted the meas-

[223 [1] They shot pigeons with them, as an aristocratic diversion.
565 [2] Not without reason, considering the complicated nature of the Tongan power-
517 structure. I do not annotate some of the sentences that follow, in which Cook repeats statements already annotated, however erroneous they may be.
[3] '. . . we saw instances, where present Passion seem'd to be their only guide, & where had they killd the Objects of their wrath they woud have been amenable neither to justice nor to a superior; but as the common people by no means appear dispirtid or any way broken by harsh or cruel treatment, It seems pretty certain that the mildness & benevolence of their masters, insures them against an ill use of their Authority. . . . Upon the whole the Friendly Islanders have the appearance of enjoying most of the Advantages aris'ing from a regular Government, few even surpass them in the great order they observe on all Occasions, in their ready compliance with the Commands of their Superiors, & the great harmony which subsists amongst all ranks; & none in the general sweetness & mildness of their tempers. We see many things worthy of imitation, few of blame; wou'd to God they cou'd say the same of us, but we have left them an incurable disorder which will for ever embitter their quiet & happy lives, & make them curse the hour they ever saw us.'—King.

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the large end against a stone fix'd in the ground for that purpose, and the other being push'd against the door serves as a strong bar, which makes it as necessary to rap here at the door as at a gate in England before you can enter an inclosure. In a great many of them there is a smaller inclosure within, this also often with a door, where the house of the principal person is immediately plac'd, and near it or very often in the outer one houses of an inferior sort for servants and dependents. There are sometimes several little places again within this that have fences and houses, but communicate freely with each other, and in most there is commonly a pretty spot of short grass, though of no regular figure, before them with sweet smelling shrubs call'd Ma'eele[1] and Hooe[2] planted up and down and some other trees that produce beautifull flowers. The outer inclosure has commonly such things as they often want planted in them, as Cocoa nut trees or some plantanes and bread fruit, but no considerable plantations of Plantanes or Yams.

Beyond this a mile or two we generally found the Plantations more extensive but open, and still farther on a great quantity of uncultivated land coverd with grass as high as the Knee. Our guides said if we advanc'd that way we should still find a waste uncultivated country, or as they call it Vâó,[3] but they probably did it only to save themselves a little fatigue, for some miles beyond this the land seem'd to rise a little higher and had a great many Cocoa trees, both signs of its being cultivated. It could also be observ'd that even in this place the soil was good, and it is probable many of the spots only lay fallow, for we saw two or three large plantane fields that had lately been broke in from such ground. It is remarkable that when on the highest part, which is at least a hundred feet above the level of the sea, we often found the same coral rock which is found at the shore, projecting above the surface in the paths; and in many places where there were large breaches with a small quantity of stinking water at the bottom, it was always in the solid coral shatterd or seperated as it were by violence.

At one place we fell in with a house where they were manufacturing their cloth, which though extensive in itself is a very simple operation. They take the slender stalks (or trunks) of the papper mulberry plant, which they cultivate for that purpose and seldom grows more than six or seven feet in height or four fingers in thickness, from which they strip the bark and scrape off the outer rind with

[1] Maile, *Alyxia stellata*, a shrub with fragrant long slender stems, abundant small leaves and dark red berries, much used for wreaths.
[2] Hoi, *Dioscorea bulbifera*, one of the yams, with small flowers in spike-like clusters.
[3] *vao*, land in its natural uncultivated state. Anderson is very accurate.

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287 a muscle shell. It is then roll'd up to take of the convexity which it
[248 had round the plant, tied and macerated in water for some time (they
[287 say a night), after which it is laid across the trunk of a small tree squar'd, and beaten with a square wooden instrument about a foot long, full of coarse grooves on all sides but sometimes with one plain. According to the size of the bark a piece is soon produc'd but the operation is often repeated by another hand, or it is folded several times and beat longer by the same, which seems rather to close than divide its texture. When it is sufficiently done it is spread out to dry, the pieces being from four or five feet to six or more in length and
[824 half as broad. They are then given to another person who joins the
381 pieces by smearing part of them over with the viscous juice of a Berry call'd 'Tooo,[a] which serves as a glue, till they become of a considerable size and are then laid over a large piece of wood with a kind of stamp made of a fibrous substance pretty closely interwoven
[824 under it. They then take a bit of cloth and dip it in a juice which
386 stands close by in a cocoa nut shell, express'd from the bark of a tree with the outer rind scrap'd off call'd Kokka,[1] and rub it briskly upon the cloth, which at once leaves a dull brown colour and a gloss for glazing & dryness upon its surface, the stamp at the same time making a slight impression that answers no other purpose which I could see than perhaps to make the several pieces that are glued together stick a little more firmly. In this manner they proceed joining and staining by degrees till they produce a piece of such length and breadth as they want, generally leaving a border of a
[824 foot broad at the sides and longer at the ends unstaind. Through the
386 whole, if any part of the original pieces are too thin or have holes, which is often the case, they glue spare bits upon them till it is of an equal thickness; and when they want to produce a black colour they mix the soot procur'd from an oily nut calld Dooe'dooe[2] with the juice of the Kokka in different quantitys as they want the tinge. They say that the black sort, which is commonly most glaz'd, makes a cold dress but the other a warm, and to obtain strength in both they are always carefull to join the small pieces length-ways which makes it impossible to tear the cloth in any direction but one.

312 As we wanted much to know if there was any good water about the bay our guides said they would conduct us to such a place and carried us to two different spots from whence the tide had fallen some way,

[a] This is the Cordia. [The Tahitian Tou is *Cordia subcordata*, but the Tongan tree of which the berries were used for this purpose was *Melochia aristata* or *M. odorata*. Cf. Cook, p. 172, n. 1 above.]

[1] Koka, *Bischofia javanica*.

[2] Tuitui, *Aleurites moluccana*.

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302 over the hair. The other I believe is done in the same manner with
824 turmeric root. They are so exceeding whimsical in their method of
wearing it that it is hard to tell which is most in vogue, though the
302 greatest number perhaps are those that have it cropt short. Others
have it cut off one side of the head while the other is long, some with
only a piece cut out as far as the crown or perhaps shav'd that far,
and others have it entirely cut off except a single lock which is left
commonly on one side, or it is suffer'd to grow its full length without
any of these mutilations. The women except a few wear it short, but
the long hair is such an ornament to the last as well as the men who
wear it so that it is surprizing the practice is not general. Those who
wear it in that manner take uncommon pains in having it comb'd,
each small parcel being carefully seperated from the rest, and I have
seen a woman whose business it commonly is take an hour and a half
302 to dress a mans hair in that manner. The men have their beards cut
237 short which is done with two thin shells, one of them with the edge
broke into small notches being plac'd under the hair that is to be cut
off, and the back of the other press'd & drawn along the intercepted
part cuts it off very short. Both men & women have the arm pits
bar'd in the same manner, but when they cut their hair or shave it
304 very close the operation is perform'd with a sharks tooth. The men
are staind from about the middle of the belly to about half way down
[237] the thighs with a deep blue colour. This is done by what we might
[412] call puncturation or ingraining with a little flat bone instrument cut
full of fine teeth & fix'd in a handle. It is dipt into the staining mix-
[824] ture, which is prepard from the soot of the Dooedooe and struck into
the skin with a bit of stick untill the blood sometimes follows, and by
that means leaves such indelible marks that time cannot efface them.
They trace in this manner the various lines & figures that fancy
suggests which in some are very elegant either from their variety or
disposition, but as the practice is quite universal it does not appear
whether it is intended as an ornament, or merely a compliance with
one of those old customs for whose institution no satisfactory reason
can be given in after times. The women have none of this about their
bodys but often a few small lines or spots on the inside of their hands.
[751] The men are all circumcis'd or rather supercis'd, as the operation
consists in cutting off only a small piece of the foreskin at the upper
part, which by that means is render'd incapable ever after of
covering the glans, a circumstance which is all they aim at as they
[765] say it is practic'd merely from a notion of cleanliness. Besides the
marks remaining on the cheeks after performing the Tooge there are
great numbers who have concentric circles upon their arms call'd

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Ko'ooma,[1] small black spots there and about the body call'd [304]
,[2] and in different parts longitudinal prominent scars
nam'd Taffa,[3] none of which are ornamental but marks that show they [765]
have mourn'd for their dead relations;[4] the two first of which are
effected by fire, the other by incision, and seems to be done exactly
in the same manner as those of the natives at Van Diemens land who
probably do it on the same occasion.

Their common dress is a piece of cloth fasten'd about the middle [291]
either by pushing the ends as they reach over within each other with
a belt of the same cloth, or with a strong roundish plaited girdle [824]
tapering at each end made from the Cocoa nut coir. It reaches to the
ankle but sometimes scarcely so far, and they often leave as much
above the fastening as will draw up & wrap round the body and
shoulders when they find it necessary. The most usual next to that is [824]
mats of various sorts fasten'd in the same manner, and over both are
often tied a sort of sash made from the leaves of the Jeejee; but the [285]
people of consequence are distinguish'd from the others by wearing
their cloth plaited; and to make it a full dress, which is done on par-
ticular occasions as in their dances, Natche &c, they put over it a bit
of matt only finish'd in the middle, with the long ends staind red.
There is no distinction between the dress of the women and men and [301]
their ornaments are also the same. The most common of these are [291]
necklaces, made of the fruit of the Pandanus and various sweet
smelling flowers which go under the general name of Ka'kulla,[5] others [301]
made with small shells, the wing and leg bones of birds, sharks teeth & [291]
other things all of which hang loose upon the breast. In the same [824]
manner they often wear a mother of pearl shell neatly polishd, a ring
of the same substance carv'd on the upper part of the arm, rings of
tortoise shell on the fingers, and a number of these join'd together
as bracelets on the wrists. The lobes of the ears (though most fre- [304]
quently only one) are perforated with two holes in which they wear [302]

[1] This is rather difficult: *ko uma* does not occur as a single word. *Uma* is shoulder; Anderson's informant probably gave him this word instead of that for a particular fashion of tattooing. 'Concentric circles on the arms and shoulders' was called 'Eetaee', says Labillardière, II, p. 405.

[2] 'Lafo', says Labillardière, ibid., 'Tattooing in the form of freakles on the face and part of the body'. Neither of these expressions for tattooing comes into any other word-list or dictionary I have seen.

[3] *tafa*, to cut in pieces, or generally to cut or lance.

[4] *some of which . . . relations*: Anderson seems to be quite wrong here. Signs of mourning might vary from singeing off the hair close to the scalp to quite savage self-infliction of wounds with clubs, stones, spears or knives; but tattooing does seem to have been purely ornamental. The 'longitudinal prominent scars', on the other hand, may have been those of mourning wounds.

[5] *kakala*, sweet-smelling flowers of any kind, or the trees and plants bearing them.

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cylindrical bits of ivory[1] about three inches long, introduc'd at one hole and brought out at the other, or bits of reed of the same size fill'd with a yellow pigment which seems to be a fine powder of turmeric, with which the women sometimes rub themselves all over in the same manner that our ladys use their dry rouge upon the cheeks. Nothing seems to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness, to procure which they frequently bathe in the ponds which seem to serve no other purpose. They prefer these to the sea, though most of them stink intolerably, because the water is a little fresher and they are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin that when necessity obliges them to bathe in the sea they have commonly some Cocoa nut shells of fresher water pourd over them to wash it off. They are immoderately fond of Cocoa nut oil for the same reason, a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders but rub the body from head to foot briskly with a smaller quantity, and (unless to those who have seen this practice) it is not easy to conceive the different appearance and advantage they seem to receive from undergoing these different trimmings. This oil however is an article not to be procur'd by every one, and the inferior sort of people doubtless appear less smooth for want of that and more frequent shifting of their cloth, as it is no uncommon thing to see them wash the last though its texture would at first make us think that could not be done.

Their domestic life is of that middle kind which I believe the most sensible part of mankind always desire, which is to say it is neither so laborious as to be disagreeable nor so vacant as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their country that the first can hardly occur and their disposition seems to be a pretty good bar to the last. This happy combination of circumstances is such that their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to their recreations, in such a manner that the last are never interrupted by the thoughts of being oblig'd to recur to the first till satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the women is of the easy kind and for the most part such as may be done in the house. The manufacturing their cloth as already describ'd is wholly consign'd to their care, and next to that fabricating their matts seems to be of the greatest consequence. Of these they have seven or eight different sorts for the purposes of wearing or sleeping on and many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the tough membranous part of the stock of the plantane tree, those they wear from the Pandanus, cultivated for that purpose and never

[1] Whale tooth.

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rains hard in the day they are guided by the swell of the sea & wind. 484
As another proof of the distance or at least of the stay they make at [502]
some places, they always carry a considerable quantity of Cloath, [821]
matts &c and provisions, the last of which they dress on a sort of [252]
hearth made of sand & stones plac'd near the fore part of the stage.
The number of people, amongst which are always several women, 505
being at least four times more than is sufficient to Navigate the Boat
implys some other business, though perhaps it may be for the relief of 461
each other: for here as in all other cases there seems to be such a
perfect unity amongst them that when they are oblig'd to paddle 533
from a calm or any other accident, the whole crew and rowers themselves join in songs and a musical recitative to give an agreement to their strokes and ease the irksomness of that unvaried labour.

The only tools they have to make these boats are Hatchets, or 412
rather thick Adzes, of the smooth black stone mentioned before (but
some want the projecting part behind), an augur made of a sharks 321
tooth fix'd on a small handle, and a rasp of a rough fishes skin laid 237
over & fastend on a flat piece of wood thinner on one side with a
handle. The vast labour they must be at and the time that is spent 396
with their [boats], being perhaps their most perfect mechanical
production, are probably the reasons for being so carefull of them, 348
for they are built and preserv'd under long shades of two sides which reach to the ground & incline towards the top, so that the ends which are both open represent a half ellipsis on its base; but when that cannot be done they always cover the deck'd part with Cocoa leaves after they are haul'd on shore to prevent the sun hurting them.

The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except 412
different shells which they use as knives, but there are few that [237]
require these unless it is some of their weapons, the other articles
being chiefly their fishing materials, cordage and a few others. The
Cordage is made from the fibres of the Cocoa nut husk, which though 283
not more than nine or ten inches long they plait about the size of a 824
quill or less to any length they please, & roll it up in balls from which
the larger rop[e]s are made by many of these being tied together and
twisted. The lines they fish with are made from the [1]226
and are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it [283]
almost in every respect. Their other things for that purpose are large
and small hooks, made with a pretty straight back and a point fix'd
on the inside near the end. The last are made entirely of pearl shell, [321]
but the first only coverd on the back with it, & the points of both
commonly of tortoise shell, those of the small being plain the others [391]

[1] Tou, not the *Maloehia* but *Pipturus argenteus*, widely used for this purpose in the Pacific.

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pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zeelanders (from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than melody of expression.

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'tóå tree. They are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the blade but a good deal broader in the middle.[1] These are commonly plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quadrangular (except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, sometimes with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make likenesses of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood (though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet long or more, generally simply pointed but sometimes beset all round with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point. They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood neatly polishd & sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory[2] after being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving instrument is only a Sharks tooth.

The floors of their houses are always coverd with a very coarse kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are so accustom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a

[1] The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *tao*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[2] Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *lei*.

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283 Their Cordage is another considerable article which they make of the rind of the Cocoa nut. Some of this they have of a thickness of a
[226] 4 or 5 inch rope, which is used in the rigging of their Canoes; fishing
[284] & other small Lines they make exceeding neat and strong from the Fibres of a Plant[1] & of these Lines they make excellent fishing Nets.

These people excel in making baskets, of which they have 3 or
285 four different Sorts & sizes all made of the rind of the Cocoa nut; one kind is made very strong which is that in most common use, another which is more for Shew are made exceedingly neat & beautiful with white beads & sometimes red feathers worked in them, these we esteemed as some of the greatest Curiosities among them; a third sort are constructed in an odd manner & have a very antique Appearance which made us compare them to Cathedrals[2]—they have other Sorts
391 still but those above mentioned are the principal. Their other
412 Manufactures consist of their weapons of war which have been already mentioned, their fishing Tackle of various Sorts, much like
301 those of Otaheite, their working Tools which consists of an Adz
306 made of blue Stone, a Shark's Tooth fastened to the end of a Stick for a graving Tool, and Files and their Jewellery, such as Necklaces of
237 various Sorts, some made of small shells of various colours & prettily disposed, others of the Legs of fowls, which however odd they may Sound, these people contrive to make into ornaments for their women's Necks and are no bad ones.

501 Their Canoes are of two Sorts, double & single and of a very curious construction & well finished & must cost them much Labour, they consist of several pieces of plank very ingeniously adapted to each other & sewed together on the inside of the Canoe; the single ones are in general large enough to hold six people, have an outrigger to them & are covered over with a deck at the Head and Stern under
[531] which they stow the different articles they carry in them. On these decks they fasten 10 or a dozen white Shells as ornaments & at the stern there is a Support for a fishing rod which they generally carry along with them. The double or sailing Canoes are built large & strong with a Stage, on which a Hut is built. Some of them are capable of carrying 80 or 100 Men & can keep the Sea a long time
[285] in these Latitudes. Their Sails are made of strong Matting & have
[531] generally the Image of a Cock upon them.

Their musical Instruments consist of a Flute, a small instrument
534 called by the Natives Meemeeah,[3] and Drums. The Flute is made
[824]

[1] Tou, *Pipturus argenteus*; or Fau, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.
[2] It is hard to guess what Samwell means by this—perhaps the top edge of some baskets, like an immense saw-tooth.
[3] *mimiha*, Pan-pipe.

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nearly like that of Otaheite & they blow into it through the Nose, but make very indifferent Music of it. The Mimia is made like the Pipe of Pan with nine fistulæ tyed together of different Lengths, they draw them along the Mouth & blow into them, but I never found that they made any thing like music out of them. The Drums are made of large cylindrical Pieces of wood like a Garden roller & excavated, which must cost them much trouble to do with their Tools; a Slit just wide enough to get the Hand in is made from one end to the other & there is no hole at either end, they beat them with 2 Sticks. Other musical Instrum[ts] if such they may be called have been already mentioned in the account of the Dances at Happai.

Their carving they execute very neat, this art is chiefly employed by them in ornamenting their Clubs, which they carve all over with the shape of Men, Birds, Dogs & Fish &c. in different parts, and fill up the whole with strait & spiral Lines in various directions & they sometimes inlay them with bone, as they likewise do their Stools that they use for pillows tho' they never carve them, they also carve the handles of fly flaps in the same Manner that they do their Clubs, & they have small sticks carved two of which they put between their fingers & clap together in the same manner that Children in England do with Stones. They have small Images of Men & Birds made of Bone which they sometime[s] wear about their necks as ornaments. They polish their different Manufactures of wood with a file which is made of a piece of wood covered with the Skin of the Shark.

The general appearance of the Island is very beautiful it being entirely covered from one end to the other with Cocoa nut, Breadfruit & other fruit trees, it is low, there being not a single Hill or any considerable rising Ground upon it; it is long & narrow being about in Length & broad. On advancing into the interior part of the Country nothing can be more pleasing than the appearance of their Houses and Plantations & of the Cocoa nut, breadfruit and Plantain Trees loaded with fruit & the large fields of Yams which are to be met with all over the Island, over which you travel along delightful Lanes between the Wicker Partition of the different inclosures, & here & there is a burying place and a large building much larger than the dwelling Houses, which seems appropriated as a public Hall for the use of a district to meet in to transact public Business or to perform their Dances, or as they were situated near the burying places they perhaps perform some Ceremonies in them at their Funerals. There were generally two or three Seats hewn in the Pillars that supported the Building which seemed to be for the reception of the Priests or Chiefs; in these Houses they

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kept their Drums. The soil is rich & good & the Climate equal & fine like most others situated in the same Latitude, where there is no cold Weather & the Inhabitants are not oppressed with Heat.

The Chief Produce of the Island is Cocoa nuts, bread fruit, Plantains & yams & Sugar Cane, all which the Country affords in great Abundance, & there are some Shaddocks, but not near so many as at Middleburg. Their Hogs are not so large as those of Otaheite nor so numerous, tho' we found plenty to supply the Ships while we staid among them, there are but few Dogs & many Rats on the Island and large Batts. They were very fond of our Cats some of which they stole, for which 2 or 3 of them were flogged on board the Discovery more than once. They have Variety of Birds some of which they used to bring on Sticks to the Ship to sell, such as Pigeons & a beautiful small green & red Parrot and they have plenty of Poultry about their Houses.

The Inhabitants of these delightful Isles are a handsome fine Race of People; the Men are rather above the common size, strong & exceedingly well made, of a dark copper Complexion with black Hair naturally, I say naturally because they daub it over with a Paste made of coral Powder which changes the Colour of it in different places into yellow, so that it is of a mixed Colour yellow & black, and this no doubt is the yellow Hair which Dalrymple takes notice of as having been seen by Quiros & other former Navigators to the South Seas, & which he supposes to be natural & therefore concludes that they are a different race of Men from the other South Sea Islanders who had not this custom among them, and therefore produces it as an Argument for the existence of [a] Southern Continent & that these were some of the natives. This practice is not confined to these people but common among other Islands in these Seas. They tattaw or mark their Loins & Thighs in various Lines according to their fancy, tho' there is an uniformity or standard to which they all approach like the Otaheiteans in tattawing the Breech. Some of them tattaw the Glans Penis. They all shave their beards, which is done with 2 small shells with sharp edges one laid under the Hair while they cut the beard with the other, & by this means they perform the Operation with expedition & get the hair off tolerably clean, tho' they always preferred our Razors when they could prevail upon the Ship's Barber to trim them.

Their Dress consists of a piece of Cloth tyed round the middle which descends as low as the Knee with sometimes a matt over it; others wear what they call a Pooraw[1] which is a Substance between

[1] *pulou.*

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142 The Women are in general handsome tho' many among them somewhat masculine, & it was the general Opinion that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheite Ladies, who from being more covered are of a fairer Complexion; however we saw great Numbers of Girls here as beautiful or more so than any at Otaheite & who in Symmetry & proportion might dispute the palm with any women under the Sun. They wear much the same kind of Clothing as the men & wear necklaces of Shells and the Legs of Fowls & some made of a small black Seed.[1] They are clothed from the Waist to the Knees & all the other parts are exposed. The lower Class of young women have their Hair cut short, while those of the Agee order wear it long & flowing down their Shoulders which had a graceful and a truly elegant Appearance, & made us lament that the superstitious Custom of mourning for the dead should deprive a young Creature as beautiful as Venus herself of her chief Ornament, which is always the Case on the Death of the Chiefs or their own Relations. As to modesty these women have no more Claim to it than the Otaheiteans, we have had on board the ships large Companies of them dancing stark naked, at the same time using the most lascivious Gestures.[2] These Agee Girls, as we called them, never came on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for the Chiefs who marry them. After lying in the women stain their bodies & faces of a yellow Colour[3] & this they continue to do for a certain time. Polygamy seems to be allowed at these Islands to the Chiefs some of whom had four or five wives, tho' it is probable that none but those of the first Consequence are allowed as many, the generality of the people having only one.

We saw 4 or 5 white people at these Islands and at Annamooka a Child of about a year old, they are all much alike in their Persons & appearance, all small slender people with very weak eyes that can hardly bear the light; their Skin where it is not covered is rough & cracked & of a red Colour that under their Cloaths is exactly like the skin of an European. It is the Opinion of some that the whiteness of the Skin is occasioned by a Distemper, if it be so it is a distemper that is born with them; it is certain that they have a very puny sickly appearance & are altogether a disagreeable ugly looking people. We saw no Women of this Colour.

[1] The berries of the Poro, *Solanum nigrum*.

[2] The foregoing sentence is an insertion in the MS; hence the dislocation in the sense of the following one.

[3] A mixture of turmeric and oil was used. It was supposed to aid the mother's flow of milk. The child was painted similarly.

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some few with as fine brown hair, as ever I met with. The people of distinction in general wear their Hair rather long, those of inferior rank quite short; some of the Women of Fashion let it grow & hang in ringlets below their Waist. These people cut their Hair & shave with Sharks Teeth, which answer those purposes amazingly well. They are exceedingly neat & cleanly in their Persons, both Men & Women bathe as soon as they rise in the Morning, and are then rub'd over with Oil which has a most agreeable perfume; this perfume has a pleasing effect if at any time you get umbled among a multitude of them, which was frequently the Case.

Their police[1] I never cou'd clearly understand; now tho' Powlahow is King here to all intents & purposes, still there's a family consisting of a Mother, 2 Daughters & a Son, who, tho' of no consequence in the State, Powlahow cannot eat or drink before, & in many Cases does them Homage; the Mother was Powlahow's Fathers Sister, of course his Aunt, & these Daughters & Son his Cousins.[2] We had the Son & one of the Daughters frequently with us; they are not even Principals of any districts, nor seemingly have any thing at all to do with government, but live a strange lawless Life, going where they please & doing what they please. It is not unusual here, if any Gentleman sees a Servant carrying Plantains, Yams or whatever may be, to call him & demand whose property that is, & upon being made acquainted, if he happens to be a Man of less consequence than himself, he will without any hesitation take any part he pleases, or probably the whole, & send the poor Fellow away about his Business. This Cousin of Powlahow's, whose Name is Latūla-boolu,[3] one day was by our Tent & saw 2 fellows passing, loaded with ripe Plantains, he call'd to them & demanded where they were going, they answerd, to Powlahow, upon which he order'd them to bring the Plantains to him, this they not very readily obeying, he sent two of his retinue who beat them confoundedly & made the poor fellows bring the Plantains & beg to be excused farther Punishment; these he wanted to sell but cou'd not find a purchaser, he then eat as many as he cou'd, gave to some Gentlemen there as many as they wou'd have & very civilly order'd Powlahows Men to take the rest to his Master. As to the lower Class of People they certainly can have no redress for the grievances inflicted by the Agee's, be they whatever they may; this I conclude from Transactions which happen'd immediately before us, for I think it is a very fair inference, if they may knock their Brains out at their Pleasure, they may certainly do any thing else they shou'd chance to take in their Heads. One day while we were laying at Anamooka, an Agee orderd the People to retire from our Market Place, where we were trading for Hogs, Yams &c; they directly moved off, but not being so quick in their Motions as the Agee thought they shou'd, he took up a confounded large Stick, and beat without mercy who ever he

[1] Principles of 'public administration'.

[2] Clerke seems to be speaking of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala, the female Tu'i Tonga, and her children the *Tamaha*; the eldest daughter was Maoungalakepa, the son was Latunipulu. Cf. Cook, p. 136, n. 2 above.

[3] Latunipulu.

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edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd together (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd) by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,[1] some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side fixd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger, well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out & stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long, the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet; the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff[t] sizes & will carry from 30 to 70 people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout. The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made of rough fish skin. . . .

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are binding, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether considerd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohows having elder sons by other women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the women are to be understood to be purchasd by our riches, all the married

[1] The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast.

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171
[181] But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[433] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[23] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[262] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
[291] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[35] houses, though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather
[302] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and
[237]

175 [432 cont.]
142 the beard shaven or rather clipt by means of a couple of sharp muscle
302 shells, (mytili.) The women were, in general, a few inches shorter
237 than the men, but not so small as the lower class of women at Taheitee
175 and the Society Isles. Their body was exquisitely [433] proportioned down
141 to the waist, and their hands and arms were to the full as delicate
175 as those of the Taheitian women; but like them they had such large
142 feet and legs as did not harmonize with the rest. Their features, though without regularity, were as agreeable as we had in general observed them at the Society Isles; but we recollected many individuals there, especially of the principal families, to which none of these could be compared. The complexion of both sexes here was the same, a light chesnut-brown, which had commonly the appearance of perfect
175 health. That difference of colour and corpulence, by which we immediately
565 distinguished the ranks at Taheitee, was not to be met with in this
[142] island. The chief, who had visited us on board and accompanied us
[171] to the shore, was in nothing different from the common people, not even in his dress; it was only from the obedience which was paid to his
175 orders that we concluded his quality. The custom of puncturing the
304 skin and blacking it, was in full force among the men, and their belly
[171] and loins were very strongly marked in configurations more compounded than those of the Taheitians. The tenderest parts of the body were not free from these punctures, the application of which, besides being very painful, must be extremely dangerous on glandulous extremities, and justly excited our astonishment.

_____ et picta pandit spectacula cauda! HOR.

[434]

175 304 The women, however, were exempted from this custom of disfiguring themselves, and had only a few black dots on their hands. But besides these, both sexes had three spots on the arms, consisting of concentric circles of punctures, without any blacking, which I have 175 mentioned before. The men in general went almost naked, having only 291 a small bit of cloth round the loins. Some, however, wore a dress [171] nearly resembling that of the women. This was a long piece of cloth [531] made of bark, in the same manner as the Taheitee cloth, but afterwards painted chequerwise, or in patterns nearly resembling our painted floorcloths, and covered with a size, which turned the wet for a long while. This they wrapped round their waist, the men nearly about their middle, the women more immediately under the breast, and in [171] both it commonly descended below the knees. Instead of the cloth they likewise substituted mats, extremely well wrought, in form resembling those of Taheitee, and sometimes, though rarely, covered 175 even their shoulders and breasts with them. The men frequently wore 301 a string round their necks, from which a mother of pearl shell hung 237 down on the breast. The women often had loose necklaces, consisting of several strings of small shells, intermixed with seeds, teeth of fishes, and in the middle of all the round operculum or cover of [304] a shell, as large as a crown-piece. Both their ears were perforated, and sometimes with two holes, and a little cylinder cut out [435] of 175 tortoise-shell or bone, was stuck through both the holes. Sometimes 301 these cylinders were only of reed, filled with a red solid substance, 531 painted and lacquered with different colours in regular compartments. 175 The most singular circumstance which we observed among these people was, 304 that many of them wanted the little finger on one and sometimes on both 291

[435 cont.]

175 304 [291] hands; the differences of sex or age did not exempt them from this amputation; for even amongst the few children, whom we saw running about naked, the greater part had already suffered this loss. Only a few grown people, who had preserved both their little fingers, were an exception to the general rule. We immediately conjectured that the death 175 304 171 of a near relation or friend might require these strange mutilations, in the same manner as is customary among the Hottentots, in Africa (10);

10. See Kolben's account of the Cape of Good Hope; also the Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, par M. Pauw, vol. II. p.224, 229.

the Guaranos, in Paraguay; and the Californians; and our enquiries, though unsuccessful at first, afterwards confirmed the conjecture. 175 304 Another singularity, which we observed to be very general among these people, was a round spot on each cheek-bone, which appeared to have been burnt or blistered. Some had it quite recent, in others it was covered with a scurf, and many had a very slight mark of its former existence. [171] We could never learn how and for what purpose it was made; but we supposed it could only be [436] used like the Japanese moxa, as a remedy against various complaints.

175 122 439 Notwithstanding the engaging manners of the natives, we foresaw that we should make but a very short stay among them, because our captains could not obtain refreshments in any considerable quantity; which might be owing not so much to their scarcity upon the island, as to the difficulty of making our goods current for such valuable articles, 175 439 when they could obtain them in exchange for arms and utensils. They had brought indeed a few yams, bananas, coco-nuts, and shaddocks for [227] [237] [171] sale, but they soon dropt that branch of trade. Our people purchased an incredible number of fish hooks made of mother of pearl, barbed with

[436 cont.]

175 439 237 227 171 tortoise-shell, but in shape exactly resembling the Taheitee fish-hooks, called witte-witte (11); some of which were near seven inches

11. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p.218. Also Parkinson's Journal, p. 77, and Tab. XIII. fig 25.

175 439 301 [237] [824] [531] long. They likewise bought their shells, which hung on the breast, their necklaces, bracelets of mother of pearl, and cylindrical sticks for the ear. They had the neatest ornamental combs that can be imagined, consisting of a number of little flat sticks about five inches long, of a yellow wood like box, most firmly and elegantly connected together at the bottom by a tissue of the fibres of coco-nut, some of which were of their natural colour, and others dyed black.

175 285 531 These fibres were likewise employed [437] in making a great variety of baskets, wrought with regular compartments of two colours, brown and black, or sometimes all brown, and ornamented with rows of round flat beads, which were made by cutting pieces of shells into that shape. The taste and the workmanship of these baskets were elegant in the highest degree, and varied into different forms and

175 171 515 415 824 patterns. Those little stools, which serve as pillows for the head, were much more frequent here than at Taheitee; flattish bowls, in which they place their meat, and spatulas with which they mix up the bread-fruit paste, were likewise in great abundance, and made of the club-wood (casuarina equistifeolia), which had this name from supplying all the islanders in the South Sea with

175 411 weapons. The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular, so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering into a round handle at the other. But many were spatulated, flattish,

[437 cont.]

175 411 and pointed; some had long handles and a blade which resembled the blade of a fleam; others were crooked, knobbed, &c. But by far 175 411 the greatest part were carved all over in many chequered patterns, 53 [412] which seemed to have required a long space of time, and incredible patience, especially when we consider, that a sharp stone, or a piece of coral, are the only tools which the natives [438] can employ in this kind of work. All the different compartments were wrought and divided with a regularity which quite surprised us, and the whole surface of the plain clubs was as highly polished, as if our best workmen had made them with the best instruments.

175 411 [237] Besides clubs, they had spears of the same wood, which were sometimes plain, sharp-pointed sticks, and sometimes barbed with a sting-ray's tail. They had likewise bows and arrows, of a peculiar construction. The bow which was six feet long, was about the thickness of a little finger, and when slack, formed a slight curve. Its convex part was channelled with a single deep groove, in which the bow string was lodged, and which was likewise big enough sometimes to contain the arrow made of reed, near six feet long, and pointed with hard wood. When the bow was to be bent, instead of drawing it so as to increase the natural curvature, they drew it the contrary way, made it perfectly strait, and then formed the curve on the other side. The bow-string by this means never needed to be tense, as the arrow received sufficient moment by changing the natural bent of the bow; the recoil of which was never violent enough to hurt the arm. Our seamen, unacquainted with the nature of these weapons, broke several of them by drawing them like other bows. The immense quantity of 175 181 609 439 arms belonging to the natives, corresponded very ill with the pacific

[447 cont.]

000 out of the boat. A party of the marines were posted on the beach
175 in case of danger, to protect the captain's clerk, who traded for
648 provisions. The natives did not express either surprize or dislike
[439] at this proceeding, perhaps because they were unacquainted with its
175 meaning. They received us with acclamations of joy as at Ea-oowhe,
609 and desired us to sit down with them on the rocks along shore, which
133 consisted of coral, and were covered with shell sand. We purchased
175 several beautiful parroquets, pigeons, and doves, which they brought
439 to us perfectly tame; and our young Borabora-man Mahine (or Hedeedee)
231 traded with great eagerness for ornaments made of bright red
237 feathers, which he assured us had an extraordinary value at Taheitee
175 and the Society Islands. Here they were commonly pasted to aprons
292 used in their dances, and made of the fibres of [448] coco-nut,
237 or fixed upon banana leaves, forming rhomboidal frontlets or diadems, &c.
824 With a degree of extasy which gave the greatest weight to his assertion,
000 he shewed us that a little piece of feathered-work, as broad as two
or three fingers, would purchase the largest hog in his island.
114 Both this youth and O-Mai were much pleased with the inhabitants of
175 these islands, and began to understand their language tolerably well.
175 We left the beach after the first acquaintance with the natives,
311 and ascended a few feet into a wild forest consisting of tall trees,
[137] intermixed with shrubberies. This wood though narrow, being in
many places not above one hundred yards wide, was continued along
the shore of Van Diemen's road, being more or less open in various
parts. Beyond it the whole island was perfectly level. We walked
across a piece of uncultivated land, about five hundred yards wide,
which adjoined to the wood. Part of it appeared to have been planted

[454 cont.]
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[788]
by a number of them wherever he went. We were told that he had conducted our gentlemen to two fayetòocas, and had pronounced a solemn speech or prayer, with his face directed to the building, but at times turning to captain Cook, and addressing the words to him, in a questioning tone. In these moments he always made a short pause, as if he expected an answer, and seeing a nod ensue, proceeded
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with his speech. Sometimes, however, his memory [455] seemed to fail, upon which he was prompted by another man who sat near him. From this ceremony, and the place where it was performed, we conjectured
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771
171
that he was a priest. However, as far as we could see into their religious notions, it did not appear that they practised any kind of idolatry; neither did they seem to have any particular veneration for birds like the Taheitians, but to worship a supreme invisible
[764]
being. What may have induced them, as well as the people of Taheitee and the Society Isles, to unite their repositories of the dead and
000
their places of worship in one, remains in obscurity. The religious tenets of a people are the last things which strangers become acquainted with, whose knowledge of the language is commonly too imperfect. Besides this, the dialect of the church frequently differs from the common dialect, and thus religion is veiled in mysteries, especially where there are priests to take advantage of the credulity of mankind.

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[293]
[237]
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From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on. Here we bought a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe. We likewise

[460 cont.]

175 501 construction. The common small trading-canoes were sharp-bottomed, and ended in a sharp edge at each extremity, which was covered with a board or deck, because their narrow form frequently exposed these parts to an entire submersion, which would have filled them with water without this precaution. They commonly had a slight out-rigger or balancer, [283] made of a few poles, to pre- [461] vent their oversetting. The body of the canoe consisted of several planks, of a hard brown wood, sewed together with strings made of the fibrous coco-nut core, and so artfully joined [171] that they appeared to be remarkably tight. The Taheitians simply bore holes in each plank, through which they pass their strings; but by this means their canoes are always leaky. At Tongo-Tabboo they dub the inside of the plank in such a manner as to leave a projecting list or rim close to the edge, and through this they pass their threads. Along the deck or narrow board at each extremity are placed seven or eight knobs, which seem to be an imitation of the little fins, (pinnulae spuriae) on the belly of bonitos, albecores, or mackarels; and I cannot but conjecture that the natives have taken these swift fishes [412] for their models in the construction of their boats. Though these [237] canoes are commonly fifteen or eighteen feet long, yet they are as neatly and smoothly polished as our best cabinetwork, which must appear the more surprising when we consider that the tools of the natives are [171] only wretched bits of coral, and rasps made of the skins of rays. Their paddles were equally well polished, of the same wood as the canoe, and had short rhomboidal broad blades, like those of Taheitee. The other sort of canoes were constructed for sailing, and persons skilled in nautical matters acknowledge that they were admirably well adapted for [171] this purpose. We saw one of them in Maria Bay, consisting of two joined

[462]

175 together, of which the planks were sewed in the same manner as in
501 the common canoe; but they were covered all over, and had a kind
[171] of elevated stage or platform, like the Taheitian war-canoes (16).

16. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 221.

[532] Some of them may carry one hundred and fifty men; and their sails, which are latine, are made of strong mats, in which the rude figure
175 of a tortoise or a cock, &c. is sometimes represented (17). As a
501
114 17. The figure of a canoe in Schouten's voyage, gives a very good idea of one of the sailing-boats of Tonga-Tabboo. See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag, 17,18.

farther detail would be tedious to most readers, and instructive only to mariners, I omit it in this place, and refer those who wish to be better acquainted with the subject to the accurate figures with which Mr. Hodges has ornamented captain Cook's account of this voyage.

175 I shall only observe, that it appears probable from the good
501 construction of the sailing-boats, that the inhabitants of these
171 islands are more experienced mariners than those of Taheitee and the Society Isles.

175 Among the great numbers of people who surrounded our ships, we
302 observed several whose hair seemed to be burnt at the ends, and were
[237] strewed with a white powder. Upon examination we found that this powder was nothing else than lime, made of shells or coral, which had corroded or burnt the hair. The taste of powdering was at its height [463] in this island. We observed a man who had employed a blue powder, and many persons of both sexes who wore an orange powder, made of
175 turmerick. St. Jerom, who preached against the vanities of the age,
302 very seriously reprehends a similar custom in the Roman ladies:
171 "Ne irrufet crines, et anticipet sibi ignes Gehennae!" Thus, by an

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

132 The prevailing winds, which considerably temper the heat, are the South-East Trade Winds. The ocean-currents are also from the south-
133 east; interesting proof is found in the fact that wreckage from the steamer "Tahiti," which foundered about 500 miles south-east of Togatabu in August, 1930, had drifted to the east coasts of Vava'u and the Ha'abai islands by the following December.

132 Hurricanes are seldom experienced in Togatabu, but they some-
731 times occur in the northern islands where they work great havoc to plantations and buildings. The most disastrous hurricanes of recent years happened in 1912 and 1913 in Vava'u and Ha'abai. Niua Fo'ou was ravaged by successive blows in December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932, and the hurricane of December, 1930, destroyed almost every house in Niua Tobutabu.

731 Earthquakes are fairly common but are not severe, as a rule.
133 Instances of damage caused by tidal waves accompanying shakes are recorded in some places such as Lifuka and 'Uiha, low islands of Ha'abai.

ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

136
23 Pigs, fowls and rats seem to have been brought to Tonga many
[439] centuries ago; as already noticed, Tasman, Cook and other voyagers
[175] exchanged iron goods for pigs and fowls. Hunting rats was a favourite
[224] sport of the chiefly archers in former times. Pigs and fowls still form the
[262] only meat-diet of the village-people. Their gardens are often spoiled by roving pigs; and these creatures infest some uninhabited islands such as Tofua, while the distant island of 'Ata swarms with fowls. Snakes
136 are unknown, but there are several varieties of lizard, including a green lizard (fokai). There are numerous insect pests, such as centipedes and mosquitoes.

23 Europeans have introduced horses, cows, goats, turkeys, etc.
[175] Cook presented the first horses, cows and sheep to Bau, Maealiuaki and
[177] Finau in 1777; the cattle were called Cook's "pigs" (buaka Tute) by the natives, a circumstance which has given rise to the fiction that Cook brought pigs to Tonga. These islands are not very suitable for sheep.

Government statistics show the following animals in Tonga in 1931:—7,467 horses, 1,661 cattle, 7 sheep, 18,231 pigs, 4,028 dogs, and 2,148 goats.

136 In 'Eua there is a green parrot which will not breed if taken else-
where. Probably the strangest bird in the group is the megapodius (malau) at Niua Fo'ou which flies badly and leaves unusually large eggs to be hatched in the sand; this bird is also found in the Solomon Islands
[237] but nowhere between that group and Niua Fo'ou. The tavake is a bird
[566] whose blood-red tail-feathers were worn only by chiefs. As previously stated, the absence of running water accounts for the rather small number of birds in the group.

Reference has already been made to the large number of flying-foxes which find sanctuary at Kolovai, in Western Togatabu.

The sea everywhere abounds in fish, and sharks are plentiful.
226 The people are expert fishermen, but of all their methods none is stranger

434 438 Table 21. Number of times specified items were listed as being commonly purchased at small village stores (based on 120 questionnaire responses).

Bread	90	Onions	8	Lard	3
Soap	84	Cocoa	7	Toilet Paper	3
Sugar	82	Jam	7	Face Powder	2
Kerosene	74	Canned Milk	6	Perfume	2
Salt	60	Candy	6	Baking Powder	2
Tinned Fish	57	Razor Blades	6	Watermelons	2
Flour	54	Tea	5	Buns	2
Matches	41	Hard Biscuits	5	Pepper	1
Tinned Beef	35	Thread	5	Coffee	1
Mutton Flaps	34	Starch	5	Needles	1
Cigarettes	31	Batteries	5	Aspirin	1
Bleach	20	Laundry Soap	5	Cheese	1
Butter	27	Soda pop	5	Soup	1
Curry Powder	20	Material	4		
Tobacco	14	White Gas	3		
School Supplies	12				

439 [824] [237] The exported handicrafts and curios include plaited ware, tapa cloth, leis, necklaces, slippers, or skirts made primarily with local plant materials. A small proportion, however, consist of sea shells and other objects collected from the surrounding reefs.

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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occasions in which *sisi fale* were used; and those *sisi fale* that were obtained were traded to the Tahitians for hogs, and mourning dresses and other curiosities. We must be ever grateful to Forster for saving at least half of his. There is also part of a *sisi fale* in Göttingen, but according to the curator, this does not come from the Forster part of the collection.

Cook explains the function of the *sisi fale* in his third voyage account. 'In their great Haivas, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). No *sisi fale* exist today in Tonga, but according to tradition they were worn by high chiefs for ceremonial dress or dancing. A specimen in one collection is noted 'Kafolalanga worn by the Tamaha and the Tu'i Tonga on feast days.' The word is probably *kofulalanga*, which simply means woven dress. One of the examples in Florence is connected with the Tamaha in yet another way. The individual elements that make up the *sisi fale* are a design used by the Tamaha. The design, a circle with an abstract tree, is said to represent an '*akau ha'amo*, carrying pole of a special kind of wood, used by the Ha'a Ngata to bring gifts to the Tamaha.

Also of feathers, and the most spectacular of all objects of indigenous Tongan manufacture, were feather headdresses. These highest of visual symbols could be worn only by the highest of chiefs—and perhaps only by the Tu'i Tonga himself. During Cook's third voyage sojourn in Tonga, Finau left Cook on May 23 ostensibly to go to Vava'u 'to get some red feathered caps for me [Cook] and Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem' (Beaglehole 1967: 112). Finau seems not to have succeeded for he fabricates a story that the canoe was lost in high wind. Anderson offers us an explanation: 'The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if he did get any and heard at Hapace which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at the trouble' (Beaglehole 1967: 886).

Only Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, presents the treasure.

> [he] came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing that they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a person in either Ship that got one but myself Capt. Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radius is 18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which Mr. Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them (Beaglehole 1967: 117).

Two of these rare items were given to the Tahitians—but little did Cook know that these feather headdresses were among the rarest of all Polynesian artefacts. Cook wanted to procure hogs and perhaps Tahitian mourning dresses—but these latter exist in relatively large numbers in museum collections. Mourning dresses were worn by a number of chiefs but probably only the Tu'i Tonga had feather headdresses. Since two were given away by Cook, there was still a chance that one

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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and a companion in the same museum are the only examples of fly whisks made in this manner. The handles are completely incised in zigzag patterns and inset with ivory pieces in the form of men, birds, stars, and crescents (Moschner 1955: 222, 224). The carving and ivory inlay are done in the same manner as the incising of Tongan clubs, but handles of Tongan fly whisks are usually uncarved. Since fly whisks are only used by chiefs in Tonga, one would suspect that such an elaborate one would have been the possession of a special chief. The existence of the information in the Leverian sale catalogue—that it belonged to Paulaho—was the corroborating evidence we needed.

A specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum illustrates the usual early type of fly whisk (plate 4*a*).[A] It is made with a slightly tapered, polished wood handle and a whisk of coconut fibre, bound by a wrapping of twisted *'olongā* fibre. It is 53 cm. in length and a small section of the whisk is braided. An almost identical piece exists in the Forster collection in Göttingen, and there are two similar ones in the British Museum. The Pitt Rivers example is a good type specimen. It is the usual Tongan type in early collections, its provenance is given as Tonga in Forster's list, such whisks still exist in Tonga, and an engraving in Labillardière (1802: plate 33) is virtually identical. Another whisk of this type, but with a bone handle, exists in Bern in the Webber collection from the third voyage, but its provenance is given as Tahiti. It is certainly Tongan, and can now be separated from the Tahitian materials.

The fly whisk, *fue kafa*, was an important symbol of rank in Tonga. It was manipulated in a specific manner, called *fuefue*, which took practice and deftness of hand. A Tongan proverb puts it nicely: 'Who is this fellow who wields his *fue* like a commoner?' This proverb is used today for anyone who is presumptuous beyond his status. The *fue* is a good example of the reflection of social stratification in material culture. The Tu'i Tonga was chief of the chiefs. The *fue*, a visual status symbol that could be used by all chiefs, was differentiated when used by the Tu'i Tonga in a manner befitting his high rank.

Incising of the designs in wood was done by means of a shark-tooth implement represented in the Pitt Rivers Museum by Forster specimen Number 174, 'shark's tooth set in wood, from the Friendly Isles' (plate 4*b*(i)). Before Forster's Catalogue was found in 1969, this specimen was noted '?Tahiti.' This provenance may have been derived from comparing it with a similar specimen in the British Museum that is in the TAH series, but one must remember that the TAH series reflects the views of a nineteenth century cataloguer and that, for the most part, the Tongan items were not separated from the Tahitian. Also in reference to this erroneous British Museum provenance, Duff in his recent catalogue ascribed a similar tool in the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand, to Tahiti (Duff 1969: 26). But I think there can be little doubt that this tool type is Tongan.

We are indebted on this account to Forster for two reasons. Not only does he state clearly that this tool is from Tonga but he also gave its companion tool (plate 4*b* (ii)), a nail set in a handle of bone. This specimen (Forster 101a) he lists as 'An old nail, brought to the friendly Isles by Tasman in 1643 and preserved by the Natives, & used as a gouge or borer'. Thus, though one might question his attribution of the shark-tooth tool to Tonga, one could hardly question the nail attribution. And this is crucial, for the hafting is virtually identical. Reinold Forster describes this piece, or a similar one, in his *Observations:* '. . . when we landed at Tonga-tabu

A. [See End Plate 4, following p. 220--Analyst]
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92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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one of the natives sold a very small nail carefully fastened in a handle of hard wood, and tied to it by strings of coconut-core. This nail was undoubtedly left by Tasman, who was there in 1643, and consequently had been preserved 130 years, and is now lodged amongst other curiosities in the British Museum' (1778: 368). Perhaps there is such an implement in the British Museum with a nail lodged in hard wood; however, they have no record of it. The Pitt Rivers specimen has a handle of bone—a perceived Tongan alternative which probably indicated that its use was restricted to the higher ranks as we have also seen in the bone and wood handles of fly whisks (i.e., Bern and Pitt Rivers specimens). It is certainly possible that there were at least two such hafted nail implements, for Cook discovers on his third voyage, that,

> on my enquireing of Fattafee the King how they came by the Knowledge of iron and a small iron tool I saw here last Voyage, he told me it came from Onnuahtabutabu [Niuatoputapu], and on asking him how the people of that island came by it, he said one of them sold a Club for five Nails to a Ship which came to the island [Wallis in 1767], and that these five Nails after wards came to Tongatabu and were the first they had seen, so that the Iron they got from Captain Tasman must have been worn out and forgot long ago (Beaglehole 1967: 162).

Two implements almost identical to the Forster shark-tooth example exist in Dublin and another in Vienna. The Vienna specimen was noted in the first inventory of the collection as an engraving instrument from Tonga (Moschner 1955: 139), and has a bark cloth padding under the sennit binding—a very Tongan way of hafting, also used for the hafting of adzes. Finally, yet another specimen is engraved in Labillardière (1802: plate 32) with a very good accompanying description:

> we saw several [Tongans] who were employed in carving others [clubs] with shark's teeth fixed into the extremity of a piece of wood. We were astonished to see them quickly notch, with this sort of chisel, *casuarina* wood, notwithstanding its extreme hardness. Others already used with much dexterity some of the iron instruments which we had given them (1802: 147–8).

In this case there is no possibility of confusion with Tahiti, for Labillardière did not go to Tahiti.

One specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum (plate 5a)[A] appeared at first to be not Tongan at all and its use was even more mysterious—a large thin plate of whalebone with the edges curved and having three holes at one edge and labelled Number 62. Before the original Forster catalogue was found, it was labelled New Zealand. The *Catalogue*, however, lists Number 62 as 'a Shield made of Bone, probably of a cetaceous animal', and is designated as Tongan. In George Forster's account of the voyage we find the description and collection information: 'we bought a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe' (1777: 455). The Pitt Rivers specimen measures 18 inches and an almost indentical specimen exists in the Forster collection in Göttingen. There is also a larger and thinner one in the British Museum (no accession information or provenance). How or when these specimens were used, we are unfortunately not told. One could suggest, however, that this is a large and ostentatious rendering of a shell breast ornament in whale bone, which was a material of high status. The

A. [See End Plate 5, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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Göttingen example has two holes with a coconut-fibre cord linking them. The Pitt Rivers Museum lacks a cord and has three holes. Large pearl shell ornaments also have either two or three holes for suspension. An example of the latter is an archaeological specimen accompanied by a shell bead, found in Tonga on the chest of a skeleton. Such ornaments were also in the Forster collection, where they were listed as part of Number 98: 'three mother of pearl shells which hang on the breast'. These three specimens have not been located—but perhaps one of these or a similar one is depicted by Hodges in his engraving of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*). A specimen exists in Bishop Museum which is complete, with human hair and an ivory bead, and demonstrates the use of the holes and the bead found in the archaeological context. The archaeological shell breastplate specimen would be nearly 12 inches across if complete, indicating that the whale bone item measuring 18 inches in the Pitt Rivers Museum would not be too extraordinary.

Tongan necklaces exist in Museum collections in a great variety of materials and styles. The most elaborate example is in Vienna, again from the sale of the Leverian Museum and probably from Cook's third voyage, perhaps even Paulaho's ornament. Fictell seems to have had the right contacts at the London sale, for the Tongan and other specimens he chose were the best of the Leverian collections—and, by extension, the best from Cook's third voyage. The necklace example (Moschner 1955: 208) combines a large pearl shell with a waterworn pebble (often used for decorating graves of chiefs), groups of bird bones, pointed brown shells, cowrie shells, a shell called *pule'otu* (worn only by chiefs), and shell beads. Also in Vienna is the only example of a carved human figure so far traceable to Cook's voyages. Two-and-a-half inches high, with holes for stringing at the back of the pendant, this ivory piece may have been Paulaho's. The only other such item of proven eighteenth century date is a depiction in Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

The two specimens in Vienna, again, seem to be the extraordinarily high-ranking types. The more usual types are found in the Pitt Rivers Museum. These consist of long strands of white and dark beads, sometimes in sections, and sometimes alternated, as well as necklaces employing several strands of bird bone. One of the specimens (plate 5*b*) has carved ivory pendants in various shapes—cylindrical beads, which have also been found in archaeological contexts; and an object which resembles the head of a missile, which is also found on necklaces in Göttingen and Dublin. An ivory pendant in the form of a bird is found on this Pitt Rivers specimen, and similar birds are in Göttingen, Vienna, and in a drawing from Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

As a final example of the use of depictions and descriptions from Cook's voyages, it should be noted that even the seemingly unlikely subjects of music and dance can be given new insights by the study of these early materials. These descriptions serve to demonstrate both continuity and change. Webber's drawing of the nose-flute player, found in the third voyage account, suggests early morning and depicts the seated posture and manner of holding the nose flute. The nose flute was traditionally used to awaken high chiefs—an honour which was also accorded to Queen Elizabeth of England when she visited Tonga in 1953, and a photograph taken at that time is remarkably similar to Webber's drawing. On the other hand, the bamboo stamping tubes drawn by Webber (plate 6*a*), and described by Anderson (Beaglehole 1967: 875), are important because this musical instrument no

A, B. [See End Plates 5 and 6 following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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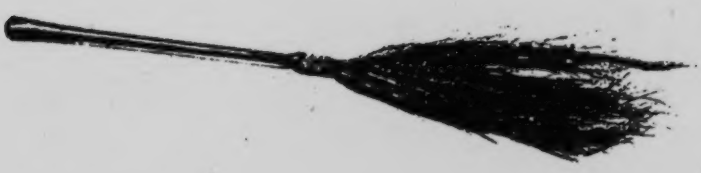

PLATE 4a.

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PLATE 4b.

(i) (ii)

[End Plate 4]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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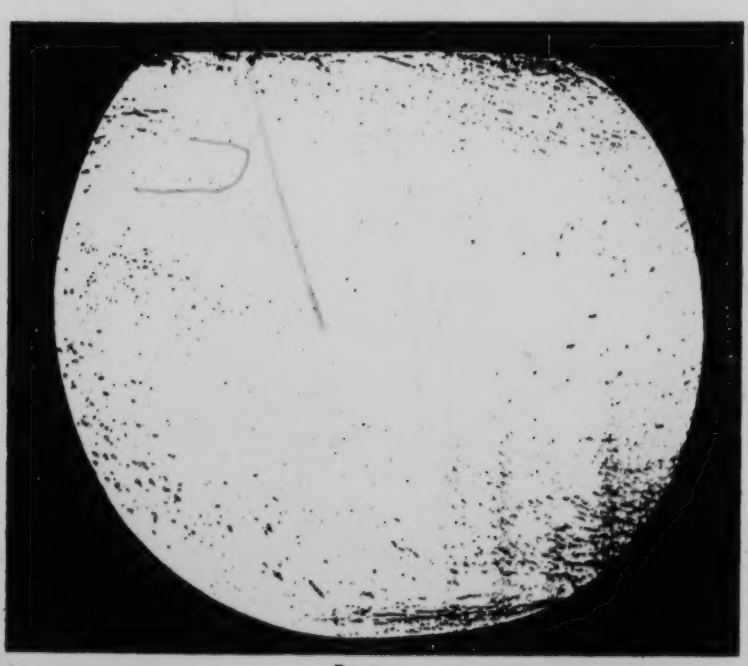

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PLATE 5a.

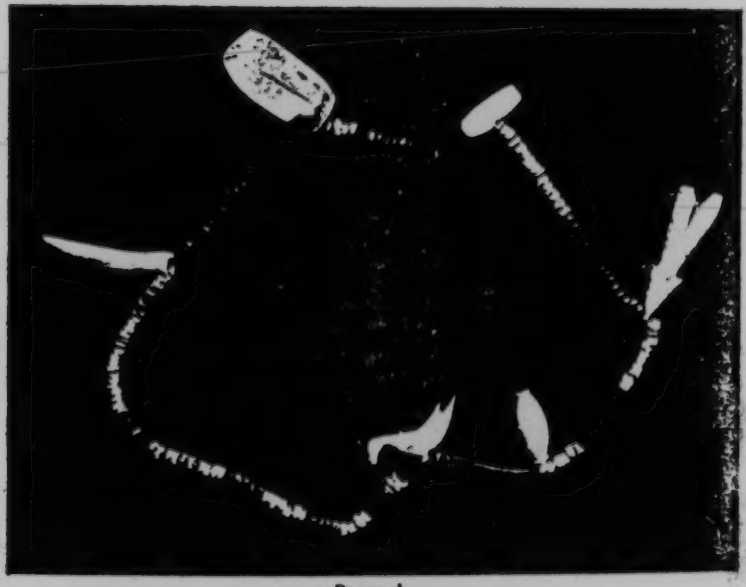

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PLATE 5b.

[End Plate 5]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

/47 cont./

302

107. E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/ loc. cit. p. 205.

[565] [184] are no longer seen, and even the nobles do not differ from the common people in their hair style.

[177] People cut each other's hair using a comb (European plastic comb) and scissors. Many natives, without special training, are so adept at this that they achieve a perfect cut even outdoors in a stiff breeze. (108)

108. There are even Tongans who cut their own hair in front of a mirror!

[237] [178] The old Tongan custom of treating the hair with coral lime (lahe)(109)

109. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 279; burnt coral lime mixed with water.

was still generally practiced at the end of the last century, (110)

[113] 110. For example, B.F.S. Baden-Powell, In savage isles and settled lands /cited in English/. London 1892. p. 319.

but has become so "unfashionable" today that one seldom meets an aged native who limes his hair. Instead, Tongan oil is commonly used, occasionally also European pomade.

[177]

302 178 As in olden times, young people's hair is cut shorter than that of adults; often, as a matter of expediency, it is entirely cut off. However, "shaving" the head, (111)

[113] 111. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282; O.W. Brierly, "Brief geographical sketch of the Friendly Islands" /cited in English/, in: The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. vol. XXII. London 1852. p. 102.

or letting individual tufts of hair stand, (112)

112. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325.

/56 cont./

291 177 178 Thus the field of clothing shows how old indigenous cultural assets and new imported ones exist side by side and in part have been blended to a unity that seems natural to the natives. The Tongans adopted the European fabrics because they are far more practical (washable and more durable) than tapa, because, with their printed patterns and the brilliant colors some of which they had never seen before, they seem desirable, and because they are products of Europe which they admire. Convenience was a lesser consideration, for the money for purchase of the fabrics must be earned, keeping them clean requires assiduous care, and the tapa continues to be laboriously made--for festivities, as sleeping mats, etc.--to such an extent that in most villages of Tonga, and even in the "chief city" of Nuku'alofa one can still hear the pounding of the tapa mallet almost every workday. [216] [432] [287]

/57/ It is doubtful whether in future the vala will be replaced altogether by trousers and the short dress. Though for certain work, trousers are much more practical than the vala, yet the latter is easier to make, to put on and to clean, and above all more comfortable in the warm climate. To judge by the present state of affairs, the majority of Tongans will probably retain the vala. Certainly it will continue to exist in the exalted realm of solemn occasions and festivities--provided the Tongan government does not officially introduce a different development in the wake of special European-ization measures.

Adornment

301 178 The adornment of the Tongans has also undergone a change. Today the natives adorn themselves relatively little compared to the wealth of adornment mentioned in the old sources about Tonga. In the pre-Euopean and early European era there were necklaces of snail shells, [237] [824]

/57 cont./

301 178 239 824 hollow bird bones and shark's teeth, as well as chest ornaments of mother-of-pearl shells, upper-arm circlets of the same material and bracelets of tortoise shell; in pierced earlobes bits of tortoise shell, small rods of bone or reed were worn. (147)

147. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 281; G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 327; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe /Voyage of the corvette L'Astrolabe/ ...Histoire de Voyage /Story of the voyage/. vol. IV. Paris 1832. p. 285; while Cook says that this adornment is worn by both sexes, Forster allots it to the men and the rest of the ornaments to the women.

[113]

Almost all this belongs to the distant past, and of course one no longer sees the chieftain's headdress made of tail feathers of the tropic bird and of red parrot feathers, (148)

148. J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 186.

nor the exquisitely plaited coconut fiber belts decorated with red feathers, (149)

149. An old dance dress of Tongan women (G. Forster, loc. cit. pp. 337- 342.

and women's side combs artistically fashioned of small rods and coconut fiber. (150)

150. G. Forster, loc. cit. p. 328.

301 565 237 The old sources do not indicate how this adornment was distributed among the various classes. However, it may surely be assumed that at least the mother-of-pearl chest ornament was worn by the privileged noble, (151)

151. Cf. M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, Voyage de la Perouse autour du monde /Voyage of the Perouse around the world/. vol. I. Paris 1797. p. 301.

[113]

who was also the only one privileged to wear the neck ornament carved out of whale's teeth (152)

100: Koch--82 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

301 /57 cont./
565
239
(113)

152. Cf. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 311 ff; H. Plischke, "Ein Brustschmuck von Tonga-tabu und die Verarbeitung von Walknochen in Polynesien" /A chest ornament from Tonga-tabu and how whalebone is worked in Polynesia/ in Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Fachgruppe II, Mittelalter /?/ und Neue Geschichte. New series. vol. II no. 7. 1939. p. 137.

and the large feather-headdress. (153)

153. Compare J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

301 The causes for the disappearance of this ornament are probably to
197 be sought in the general deterioration of the old crafts which in
198 Tonga (as on the other islands /58/ of Polynesia) began with the
997 import of European goods and tools, as well as in the attitude of the puritanical missionaries who were surely not favorably disposed toward adornment.

301 Nowadays Tongans prefer perishable plant adornment. The neck-
824 laces (kakala) of blossoms, leaves and seed capsules familiar since
[198] ancient times and already mentioned by Cook, (154)

154. J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 281.

Ellis, (155)

155. W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 94.

and Dumont d'Urville, (156)

156. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe.../Voyage of the corvette L'Astrolabe/. loc, cit. IV. p. 285.

are worn by young men, girls (also women) and children on many occasions. (157)

157. For example, at festivals, cooperative work

/58 cont./

301
824

(house-building, making large lengths of tapa). Young girls usually make them by stringing together the large whitish-yellow pua blossoms (Fagraea berteroana) and the small huni blossoms. (158)

158. Frequently also the red pandanus seed capsules.

on a hibiscus bast thread. The sisi kakala likewise worn by young men, girls and children (sometimes also by older persons) at festivals, but around the waist and sometimes also around the shoulders, are made by girls and women, usually out of the blossoms of pua, heilala and pipi, out of the leaves of tane-tane (Polyscias species) and maile (Alyxia species) and out of the seed capsules of paongo (Pandanus species) and pipi, all of which are similarly strung on a bast strip of fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus). (159)

159. A typical arrangement consists, for example, of pua blossoms, pipi blossoms, pipi seeds and maile leaves; sometimes they make artistic sisi kakala of threaded blossoms and leaves which are interspersed, for example, with other smaller blossoms on the ribs of coconut pinna.

Often they also simply put a blossom (for example pua) behind one ear as an ornament. Old and young Tongans of both sexes like to wear an arrangement of fatai (a Liana) around their necks as an ornament and for coolness, whenever it suits them.

301
237
535

Only at dances (160)

160. For instance, tau'olunga, laka-laka ma'ulu'ulu, kailao.

necklaces of snail shells (kahoa hihi, kahoa pueki) are occasionally worn. Finger rings of tortoise shell, already mentioned by Cook and Ellis for Tonga, (161)

161. J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 281; W. Ellis, loc. cit. p. 94/95.

/58 cont./

301 237 are also seen nowadays on some Tongan women and a few men. But they have been altered by inlays of silver ornaments (rhomboids, crosses, 301 237 dots) obtained from melted silver coins. Several Tongan "experts" 326 in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu make these rings which are dispersed from the seaports throughout the Archipelago. Inventive Tongans make rings out 301 177 of a tortoise shell substitute, namely the black celluloid rims of 326 bicycle pumps, and also decorate them with silver designs. Occasion- 301 ally one sees tortoise shell bracelets which in /59/ workmanship and [237] inlays resemble tortoise shell rings and in shape are simple spirals.

Some Tongan women own gold finger rings (162)

[177] 162. A few Tongan men also wear these in imitation of the European custom of wedding rings.

and gold and silver bracelets; a few have necklaces of the same 301 material. This European adornment has not become very widespread 177 during the last decades. The gold rings were heavier in the recent past than the ones preferred nowadays. Among the few "durable ornaments" worn nowadays we must count the plastic combs which some Tongan women wear in their hair and which to some extent replace the beautiful old rodlet combs. (163)

163. G. Forster, loc. cit. p. 328.

302 The only survival of face painting seems to be the coloring of cheeks with the blood of freshly killed pigs that is sometimes practised by young boys.

301 The colorful belt of hibiscus bast, kie-kie lou fau, (164)
292 164. See page 323.
535 which was mentioned under clothing and which often replaces the ta'o-
824 vala of women and girls, may also be regarded as adornment, as may the dance shirts worn by Tongan women on the occasion of big dances, (165)

/60 cont./

304 were tattooed. (167)

167. Cf. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 326; J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 279/280; W. Waldegrave, Extracts.../cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 194

304 Tattooing, which consisted of elaborate figures and patterns, each of
531 which had a special name, covered the abdomen and thighs, that is, all parts of the body from the hips to the knees, (168)

168. Mariner says: "...from within two inches of the knees up to about three inches above the umbilicus" /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 266).

including the penis. Women were little tattooed, for the most part only on the inside of the hands (fingers and palms), on the arms and sometimes on the legs, (169)

169. First observed by Waldegrave (see above).

304 with dotlike and star-shaped patterns. Among the Tongans it was
[554] generally considered unmanly not to be tattooed. Non-tattooed men
[626] would have been ridiculed by other men and more especially by women.
[463] Usually special experts carried out the process when the person
[413] reached adulthood. They used comblike instruments (made from the
[239] wing bones of wild ducks), dipped these in a mixture of soot (from
[386] Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.) and water, and, with a small stick and in a rather time-consuming procedure, hammered the pattern into the skin. (170)

170. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 256/266.

304 This ancient tattooing, which was perhaps a fashion taken over
191 from Samoa--although practiced for centuries--, has today almost
198 entirely disappeared. In various villages of the Archipelago a few old men are still living who have this kind of tattoos, but they are Samoans or Tongans who some time ago submitted to the process in Samoa where this art is practiced to a certain extent even today.

/135 cont./

342 (tufuanga langa fale). They (with several helpers) erected the chiefs'
463 dwellings and other larger buildings. (363)

363. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 96. 279.

342 It is to be assumed that commoners mostly built their houses themselves,
565 especially since Mariner reports that everyone knew how to build a house. (364)

342 364. Ibid. p. 279.

342 The tools used in house building consisted chiefly of various axes with
412 stone blades and rasps with rough fish skins. (365)
[237]

365. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/. I. p. 109; J. T. Plant, Handbuch.../Handbook/ II. p. 374.

342 Today almost every Tongan is still capable of building by himself
178 a dwelling with the ancient Tongan ground plan, and there are also a
177 few "laymen" who can erect a European-type house. Besides, there are,
463 as in old times, special house builders living in every village. They
[868] received their training in the traditional way: by working on various house-building projects they gathered knowledge and experience. A few
342 were trained, European-fashion, as carpenters (for example, in Fiji).
178 Therefore, as a rule, they own an assortment of good English tools (for
177 example, axes, hatchets, adzes, saws, hammers, drills, planes, chisels,
463 caulking irons, screwdrivers, files, clamps, angle irons, levels, tape
412 measures, etc.). Among the rest of the house builders, European axes,
335 transverse hatchets with iron blades and large European machetes, as all-around tools, replace the equipment customary in ancient Tonga, which has long since disappeared throughout the Archipelago.

412 /136/ The big axe (toki lahi) is used to cut down trees and cut
[824] up and split trunks. It is usually bought readymade in the commercial centers of the Archipelago; sometimes the natives acquire only the blade (approximately 19 centimeters length and 11.5 centimeters maximum width)

513 /146 cont./

352 383. These are no longer made in Tonga and
178 are mostly several decades old.

are the "headrests" (tekihi) made of a simple, angular or rounded oblong block of wood, or the kali papa nailed together out of scraps
513 of imported building timber. However, the majority of Tonga today
178 sleep without headrests; they sleep on the level ground or put their
177 heads on a cloth bundle or on a European pillow that they have made
352 themselves and filled with kapok. In some 30 to 50 percent (384)
177 384. Depending on the location of the settlement
(village near a seaport or remote island).

of Tongan houses there are European-type bedsteads (wooden or iron
[283] bedstead or camp bed). Some of the wooden bedsteads were self-made by the natives; on a lacing of coconut-fiber cords (kafa) lies a pile of mats serving as mattress. The beds found in Tongan houses are,
[513] however, only partly used for sleeping (with European linen or a bast-fabric sheet over the mat pile and with a pillow); more as a useful object for storing some of the delicate mats. In some houses today one
751 sees mosquito netting.

285 Baskets are plaited in large quantities in Tonga. (385)

385. See p. 313 ff.

However, today they serve more for carrying than for storing things in
[531] the house. The wealth of baskets has diminished insofar as the /147/
[237] artistic coconut-fiber baskets, for example, (386)
[178]

386. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...
/cited in English/ I. p. 108; J. Cook,
Beschreibung... loc cit. VI. p. 283;
also No. Oz. 139 (Cook Collection) in
the Institute for Ethnology, Gottingen.

partly decorated with small shell disks, have not been made for a long
285 time. The baskets made today in Tonga consist mostly of pandanus-leaf
531 strips (of several species) in various forms (some using coconut-leaf ribs) (387)

/169 cont./

231 184 According to these figures, pigs and chickens, the domestic animals of ancient Tonga, occur most frequently in 'Uiha and Fungamisi. The difference with respect to the rest of the domestic animals is more striking in 'Uiha than in Fungamisi. In the latter village, its 231 184 432 nearness to the seaport of Neiafu is a factor; the natives probably feel it is more profitable to use their coconuts for copra production (245) (the copra receiving station of the government is not far from the village) than to breed pigs more extensively, especially since the latter can be replaced by corned beef and salted meat which is easily obtainable in Neiafu. The cattle raised in Fungamisi can be profitably sold to merchants in Neiafu.

231 In general, there is no intensive animal husbandry in Tonga, such as the European is accustomed to. Stalls and fenced-in areas are (272) (262) (239) practically unknown. /170/ Milk, eggs and manure are not used. The following survey may give an idea of animal husbandry in Tonga:

Pig:

231 136 This domestic animal of ancient Tonga no longer exists in its original form. Sailors, missionaries, other whites living in Tonga, as well as members of the Tongan government have, in the course of time, brought a number of pigs of various strains to Tonga. This seems to have improved the old Tongan breed of pig which was probably smaller. A clear racial identification is no longer possible because of the various crossbreeds.

231 262 574 Pork is by no means a daily food; the natives usually slaughter the animals only for festivals and other special occasions (for example, a visit of a member of the royal family), just as was customary among commoners in the past. (450)

(113) 450. See W. Waldegrave, Extracts from a private journal.../cited in English/ p. 187.

/172 cont./

Cat:

231 [136] Cats, which were likewise brought to the Archipelago by whites, are kept only now and then by natives to protect their supplies from mice. In the bush, wild cats occur now and then.

[178] To sum up, we may say about animal husbandry that, as in old times, there is scarcely a Tongan household without domestic animals and that, as in those days, the pig and the chicken are the most important domestic animals for the natives. On the other hand, of course, the limited size of the islands, the small size of the individual property and the lack of water are reasons why no more extensive animal-breeding, especially of cattle, arose. On the other 231 hand, the reason why the change from their former circumstances is 178 but slight may be found in the Tongans themselves, who apparently feel no necessity to alter their traditional economic system which is quite sufficient for their needs; in their raising of domestic animals--which might almost be called extensive--/173/ they leave a great deal to chance and shy away from the trouble which profitable pig and chicken raising, and especially systematic cattle raising (which is to a small extent possible even on 8½ acres) entails. The [262] Tongans do not recognize the advantage of a better meat supply and the [272] use of manure, or else these advantages do not seem to them worth- [237] while, and the prospect of milk is not at all tempting for most of them, (457)

[439] 457. Imported, sweetened condensed milk has had a limited distribution in the Archipelago, which is probably due to the fact that the Tongans are very fond of sweets and that, in their eyes, this canned milk is very different from fresh cow's milk.

just as they do not care for eggs.

/180 cont./

227 178 824 however,--usually of fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) wood--is still made exactly as it was in olden times. In the uloa community fishing expedition they use the heavy net plaited of coconut fibers, as they always have, since the available hemp material seems to be too weak [177] for this purpose. However, the long rope required for this procedure [283] is scarcely plaited any longer of the fau bast; they buy an imported 227 European rope. The fish spears today have iron points with barbs; 177 they buy the prongs ready-made from a shopkeeper or have them made by 178 a blacksmith in one of the chief towns. The points are inserted in the spear shaft and fastened with a wrapping of European fishline. [824] The ancient Tongan fishlines plaited of coconut fibers (466) [283]

466. See, for example, J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 286.

have long since disappeared. Today the natives use the European [237] lines available in quantities from shopkeepers, just as they use exculsively the steel fishhooks introduced by whites and have apparently forgotten the traditional, beautiful hooks of tortoise shell and mother-of-pearl. (467)

467. Ibid.

226 416 177 Benzol pressure lamps have largely replaced the torches formerly cus- 227 tomary in night fishing. The traps (finaki) on many islands are already made more often of wire netting than of the roots of coconut 177 palms, and there is scarcely a Tongan who goes to the trouble of making [824] the weirs (pa) of bamboo and plaited coconut palm leaves, but generally uses wire netting for this purpose as well. Finally, some of the 50 178 boats used in fishing are still the traditional outriggers (popao, 177 rarely tafa'anga) (468)

468. See p. 349 ff.

but some are also rowboats and European-type sailboats which have re-

/180 cont./

501 178 177 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (kalia). (469)

469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing with the towline (fakatele).

226 292 178 824 /181/ The sandals (teka) plaited from the bast of the fau tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.

415 226 824 177 Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets ('oa) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)

470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers to in his account (J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 309.)

however, they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their heads.

286 463 According to Mariner (471)

471. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

[178] net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in [824] old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (hika) which [237] is carved from the wood of the tao tree (Casuarina equisetifolia L.) or of the milo tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the meshes (mata kupenga) cut out of tortoise shell or fau wood (Hibiseus tiliaceus). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the [465] experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent 227 [463] on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of [426] money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each [178] other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

/211 cont /

285 and from narrow pandanus leaf strips of the lou tofua species (see
(824) above) in a spiral coil technique. "Geometric" patterns are worked
(531) in with black dyed (see above) lou tofua strips and natural colored lou paongo strips.

/212/

kato lou kie:

(482) This small pouch with a handle is used to hold money, tobacco, matches, etc. It is carried only by women and girls who like to take it along when they go shopping.

The kato lou kie is plaited by women and girls from pandanus strips (upper skin) of the lou kie species, (555)

555. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309-310.

some of which are dyed with European colors.

kato alu:

(585) The kato alu is a "wedding basket" for a wedding of some importance in ancient Tongan style. (556)

556. See p. 114-116.

There are two shapes: a smaller, oval one for the bridegroom and a larger, round one which was originally intended for the bride.

(462) These baskets, which are made only by women, are plaited with
(824) the separated midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm and the split leaf ribs of the creeper alu. They are dyed with a
(386) mixture of the soot of burned Aleurites and the sap of the koka tree (Bischofia javanica [flower]). With thin strings twisted from the
(283) bast of the paper mulberry tree, small rings cut out of shells (or
(237) snail shells [pule] with coconut fiber strings) are fastened to the
(283) outer surface of the basket. The carrying cord is plaited out of
(237) women's hair.

285 From the foregoing list of the most important types of baskets
177 we may conclude that the natives expend considerable time, effort and
178

/213 cont./

285 Among Tongan plaitwork we must also include the fans (for cooling off on hot days and to drive away mosquitoes and flies), which are still made in large numbers and in different varieties. A summary of the most important types may give a general idea:

i lou niu:

This, the simplest of the fans and is used by old men and women, though young men and women also use it, and children play with it. [462] [824] Only women make it. They plait these fans out of sections of young coconut palm leaves, the pinnate leaflets of which they separate lengthwise.

i tu'a niu:

The i tu'a niu is used particularly by old women and men, though younger natives also use it.

[462] [824] It is plaited by women (girls) from the center rib of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm, from strips of the lou tofua species (561)

561. See p. 307.

(in natural color and dyed black) or of the lou kie species. (562)

562. See p. 309-310.

For the handle, the midribs of prepared coconut palm leaves are used, or a wooden stick is worked in to reinforce the handle. (563)

[237] 563. Sometimes the natives also wind women's hair around such a handle.

Occasionally the edge of the fan is trimmed with chicken down.

i lou 'akau:

[462] [824] The i lou 'akau is a simple fan used by women (girls) and men and plaited only by women (girls). They make it out of leaf strips of the lou tofua speices of apndanus and usually plait in a wooden handle.

/213 cont./

285 (293) i fulu fulu 'i moa:

This is the typical "good" fan of females, especially girls; they like to use it in public, in church, at choir practice, etc.

(462) (824) (531) Women and girls plait it of pandanus strips of the lou tofua variety (as well as lou paongo); (564)

564. See pp. 306-308.

according to the old style, they work in lou tofua strips dyed black or tinted (for example, crimson) with European dyes. A wooden handle is (239) plaited in as reinforcement, and the entire edge of the fan is trimmed with white chicken down.

/214/

i lou fau:

(462) The i'lou fau is used mostly by women, but also by men, and is made by the former.

(824) They use the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm, (177) leaf strips of the lou tofua (or lou kie) variety of pandanus and (386) hibiscus bast (fau). The latter is usually colored with European dyes. (239) A wooden handle is plaited in as reinforcement. Sometimes they also fasten chicken down to the edge of the fan.

285 (177) Without doubt, these are products that are basically of ancient Tongan origin. In the absence of comparative material it is difficult for us to determine how great the change is in this area. In any case, (439) the frequent use of European dyes, as well as the bits of imported construction timber used to reinforce the handle are recent influences.

(178) (565) Probably the more "elegent" fans (for example, i fulu fulu 'i moa, i tu'a niu) were reserved for nobles in ancient Tonga, and in general we may assume that the work has perhaps become cruder.

Finally, in a discussion of Tongan plaitwork we must mention sandals and hats.

/215 cont./

285 off (all around) in one strip. After it has dried in the sun for
283 about two days /216/ the white bast (= on the inner side of the re-
824 maining bark) is removed. This the women (girls) divide into narrow strips and therewith knot the mana fau which is actually only a strand of bast slung around the hips, from which the bast fibers, knotted to it in close succession, hang down to below the knees.

kie-kie lou fau:

292 The kie-kie lou fau is worn especially by women and girls, though sometimes also by men. They wear it instead of a ta'o-vala
[764] to church, when visiting chiefs, for festivals and other occasions,
[574] and for dances (laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu, hula hula, tau'olunga, hula,
[535] ulu); they also decorate fresh graves with it.

285 This ornamental belt which originated only in recent times (end
292 of the last century?/ is made by women and girls, likewise out of
[462] hibiscus bast, and consists of a plaited belt cord on which are
[824] knotted long, narrow bast strips that hang down. It usually has
[283] special knotted ornaments in the hip section (for example, bast
[177] strips tied into rosettes), and parts of it, in contrast to mana fau,
[386] are always dyed with European dyes (particularly green, lavender, pink, and blue).

kie-kie pueki:

292 This ornamental belt, which is also worn by women and girls
[438] (and occasionally by men) in place of the ta'o-vala, is a typical product of the island of Niua Toputapu situated in the very northern part of the Archipelago. It may be an ancient cultural heritage.

292 The natives there make the kie-kie pueki, like the mana fau, of
239 hibiscus bast (with long pendant bast strips); all around the hip
[283] section, however, they knot snail shells on a band about eight centi-
[285] meters wide. The snail shells, which are whitish-yellow in their
[177]
[386]

292 /216 cont./
237 natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for
177 example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.
386

kie-kie lopa:

292 The kie-kie lopa is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men)
[535] as a ta'o-vala; they also like to wear it at dances (laka-laka,
[353] tau'olunga, kailao, hula, ula, ma'ulu'ulu) and often use it to decorate
their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
[462] made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast
[283] (Hibiscus tiliaceus) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they
[824] string red lopa seeds (Adenanthera pavonina?). Today the bast fibers
[386] of the kie-kie lopa are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.
(177)

Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient
[283] Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually
[386] knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential
(177) feature of all of them except mana fau.

The bast cloth (tapa) (567)

287 567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation,
177 though long since established even for the dyed
[196] and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast
cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-
dyed edge of the bast cloth is called tapa,
whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called
ngatu.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants of all the islands.

287 As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special
292 occasions; (568)
784
198 568. See p. 66 ff.

since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are

/235 cont./

412 178 177 [237] Though the popao seems unchanged in principle from that of the past, the tools used in building it are quite different from those used in ancient Tonga. The axes with black stone blades, the drills with shark's teeth and fish-skin scrapers (621)

621. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 287.

have long since disappeared, and new equipment is used instead, which represents, in part, a combination of European material and Tongan form, (622)

622. See transverse hatchets, p. 200-202.

in part, purely imported materials of whites.

501 [415] [178] To propel a popao one or two paddles are required. Special bailers (box at the bottom of the boat) with a handle inside are very seldom made any more. The natives usually use rather large coconut shells or empty cans to bail out.

501 184 422 The supply of boats of the popao type is by no means uniform on the individual islands. Investigations made by the author in 1951/52 for instance, showed that in 'Uiha (Ha'apai) only three out of 100 households had popao, whereas the 85 households of Nomuka (Ha'apai) had about 40, and the 45 households of Fugamisi (Vava'u) had 17 boats of this type. There are apparently no particular reasons for this unequal distribution, for the living conditions of the natives of 'Uiha and Nomuka are very similar. The people of the remote village of 'Uiha--in which, according to statements of older Tongans, only a few decades ago almost every household owned a popao--seem to have simply lost the inclination to build these boats, whereas the inhabitants of Fungamisi (the "suburb" of the urbanized harbor settlement of Neiafu) still show a greater interest in this boat, though there is no compelling necessity for it. One may assume, in general,

501 178 that the supply of these simple outriggers--considerable though it

/264 cont./

535 beats of the nafa.
[533] This is probably an ancient Tongan dance.

kailao:

is danced only by men (chiefly young ones, though also older ones). Some two-thirds of the Tongans have probably learned it.

Various numbers of natives (usually between 20 and 100) may take part in a kailao. They dance with naked torsos preferably [30] decorated with kakala necklaces (see page 82-84) in addition, they wear [292] ornamental belts (mana fau, kie-kie lou fau [see pp. 321-324]) over [177] European underpants and feather hats (made of tapa and red-dyed chicken [291] feathers). [237]

The dancers generally arrange themselves in rows of 20 men each. [533] Each man holds a dance paddle. The accompaniment consists of rhythmic beating with sticks on one or two empty cans by a few men. The dancers display considerable movement (including steps).

The kailao may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The kailao--originally probably a war dance--was taken over a long [534] time ago from Uvea. Tin cans have replaced the wooden drums formerly [178] customary.

tau faka-niua:

is a dance very similar to the kailao but not more than about one-fourth of the Tongans (including especially the natives of Niua Toputapu) are experienced in it. The tau faka-niua differs from the kailao by the fact that the dancers carry bamboo sticks rather than [533] paddles. The rhythm here too is indicated by the beating of cans (one to six); /correct/ beat is maintained by the use of pieces of bamboo (notched to form four points).

The tau faka-niua may be danced at any time of day.

The tau faka-niua seems to be an old Tongan war dance from the [534] island of Niua Toputapu. In former times wooden drums were used [178] instead of tins cans.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 ranged from spontaneous growth to a safeguard against periods of
182 food shortage.

241 Entering land into fallow was found to be a gradual process. Tubers, and occasionally bananas and plantain, may continue to be harvested from the plot for several years after the cessation of active cultivation. Coconuts are also produced in fallowing plots, independent of the bush fallow system.

Increasingly, in more densely populated areas of the Kingdom, this combination of fallow and cropping is being practiced, whereby a farmer plants cassava on the fallow plot and allows grasses and weeds to grow unhindered. The only incidence of weeding is at the time of planting and then in only the immediate planting site. This activity may last for several years, or occasionally for the entire fallow period, followed by the planting of yams or
[23] taro. Only in western Tongatapu was the addition of any fertilizer (an occasional application of small quantities of pig manure) noted.

241 Fallowing is traditional to Tongan agriculture. However,
178 due to population growth in many areas of the Kingdom, increasing
[182] demand for land is modifying the fallow system. Surveys indicated an average fallow time of three to six years. It was the opinion of over 81 percent of those farmers interviewed, and who had land in fallow, that the average fallowing time is evidencing a slow but
[434] steady decrease. Farmers are finding it necessary to devote more of their acreage to some form of semi-permenant cultivation, in order to meet subsistence requirements, or to secure an adequate level of cash income through local sale of produce.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

frequently nonexistent and the well-being of large numbers of pigs, goats and fowl throughout the Kingdom depends greatly upon scavenging.

An advantage of livestock production almost totally neglected in Tongan agriculture is the production of manure. The process of applying manure to soil is not traditional in the Tongan agricultural cycle, and the basic concept is, for the most part, not understood (Hougland 1974). Annual manure production per animal varies as to diet and amount of feeding. Table 16 indicates the amount of potential fertilizer (i.e., animal manure) which can be returned to the soil. Table 17 provides additional data, including the amounts of the three macro-nutrients available per ton of animal manure, essential for maintaining soil fertility.[1] Collection of manure would require containment of stock, or at least confinement to the boundaries of the 'api, thereby bringing about direct return. Only a small minority of Tongan allotments are fenced, the required cost and labor being considered excessive.

Livestock is expected to retain its traditional role in the agricultural system of Tonga. The potential upgrading of stock, as well as the full utilization of this agricultural component, is directly determined by Tongan farming traditions. Thus, while fulfilling an unintentional role as scavengers, livestock will probably

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[1] The average stock-owning household may claim ownership of twenty fowl, two goats, five pigs, four cattle and one horse (Table 15). No individual household in the survey completely owned this number of animals, due to combination ownership. However, only five percent of the surveyed households owned no stock of any type.

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TABLE 16.--Livestock Production of Manure Per Annum.

	% of Total Sampling Owning	Mean Per Owning Household	Manure Production Per Year, Per 1,000 Pound Live Weight (ton)	Estimated Average Weight Per Mature Animal (lb.)	Total Manure Production Per Year (ton)
Horse	38	1.0	12.00	900	10.8
Cattle (cow)	12	4.0	15.00	1,100	66.0
Pig	55	4.9	18.25	200	17.9
Goat (sheep)[1]	27.5	2.5	9.75	70	1.70
Fowl (all types)	70	20.2	4.50	3	0.27

[1]Data for goats was not available.

SOURCE: D. Acker, Animal Science and Industry (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971, p. 169.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

237 TABLE 17.--Approximate Soil Nutrients Per Ton of Manure.

	Nitrogen (N) lb.	Phosphoric Acid (P_2O_5) lb.	Potash (K_2O) lb.
Horse	13.2	5.1	12.1
Cow	11.4	3.1	9.9
Pig	9.9	6.7	9.3
Sheep	115.8	6.7	18.0
Hen	21.0	16.4	10.2

SOURCE: D. Acker, Animal Science and Industry (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

231 remain most important as an instrument within the Tongan social structure.

Cash Cropping

241 245 The crops grown primarily for the international export market are coconuts and bananas, although vanilla, melons, fruits and vegetables are also produced in less significant quantities. Survey results, substantiated by personal observations, indicated that most landholdings are at least partially planted with coconut palms, while many 'apis of Ha'apai and Vava'u are totally 241 planted in palms. As the desire or necessity for cash income increases, a greater proportion of the typical 'api will be planted in some type of cash crop.

245 Coconut surpluses, beyond the needs of the family, are usually 439 sold as copra to the Tonga Copra Board. Bananas in surplus are sold

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

123 without rising, and shook hands—first with Captain Keppel, and
643 then with the rest of the party. He thanked Captain Keppel for
574 having brought him a letter from the governor of New Zealand, but said that, having been engaged in receiving his chiefs that morning, he had not yet had time to read it, and then, having accepted an invitation to dine on board that day, he turned his face away, and, resuming his former abstracted look, did not speak again.

574 The ceremonies connected with the kava drinking were now
644 going on. Two chiefs, each carrying bundles of the root, came in
[276] and laid them upon the mat before the king, where they left them and retired. The chief, sitting on the king's right hand, then ordered them to be counted, upon which two men came and sat down before them, with their faces towards the king. The ceremony then proceeded in the order which we were informed was usually observed on these occasions, as follows:—The chief demands how many bundles there are, and the men count them, calling out A-tá-ha! Ua! Túlu! one, two, three, and so on, touching each bundle as they do so, and counting them over in this way twice, the same form being observed although there might be only two or three bundles. Pigs, yams, and other provisions are also laid before the king and counted in the same manner, the pigs being carved in the royal presence, each being divided into eight parts, which are handed to the chiefs, who bring what they receive, and again lay it before the king, retiring until his spokesman
[235] recalls them, when they finally take it away. The pig's liver is laid upon leaves and presented to the king, who generally sends it to some one as a mark of his favour.

574 Besides the chief on his right, who directs the ceremonies
644 generally, the king was attended by his orator, a venerable looking
537 old chief, who sat two removed from him on his left, and who, after the chiefs had all presented their offerings, made a speech of thanks for the king in return. He spoke rapidly, but distinctly, pausing
[201] for a few seconds between each sentence. During his oration, the most perfect silence was observed, every one listening with an appearance of great respect and attention; the chiefs, when he had finished, calling out, Mālo-māléeah—very good, very sweet; the king, all the time, sitting quite silent, and without appearing to notice anything that was going on.

276 The kava root was now broken up into small portions with a
574 heavy pointed club, about five feet in length, made out of a whale's
644 jaw, the rind and points of the root being carefully removed, and pieces of it handed round to the chiefs, who chewed it into a pulp,
[412] which they spat into a piece of plantain leaf, and went with it to a
[237] man sitting with a large wooden bowl before him, in the centre of
[415] the semicircle, facing the king. When a sufficient quantity had